





SWIFT ON HIS AGE





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SWIFT ON HIS AGE  
Selected Prose and Verse  
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*In preparation*  
BRITISH SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE IN THE 17TH CENTURY

# *Swift on his Age*

*Selected Prose and Verse*

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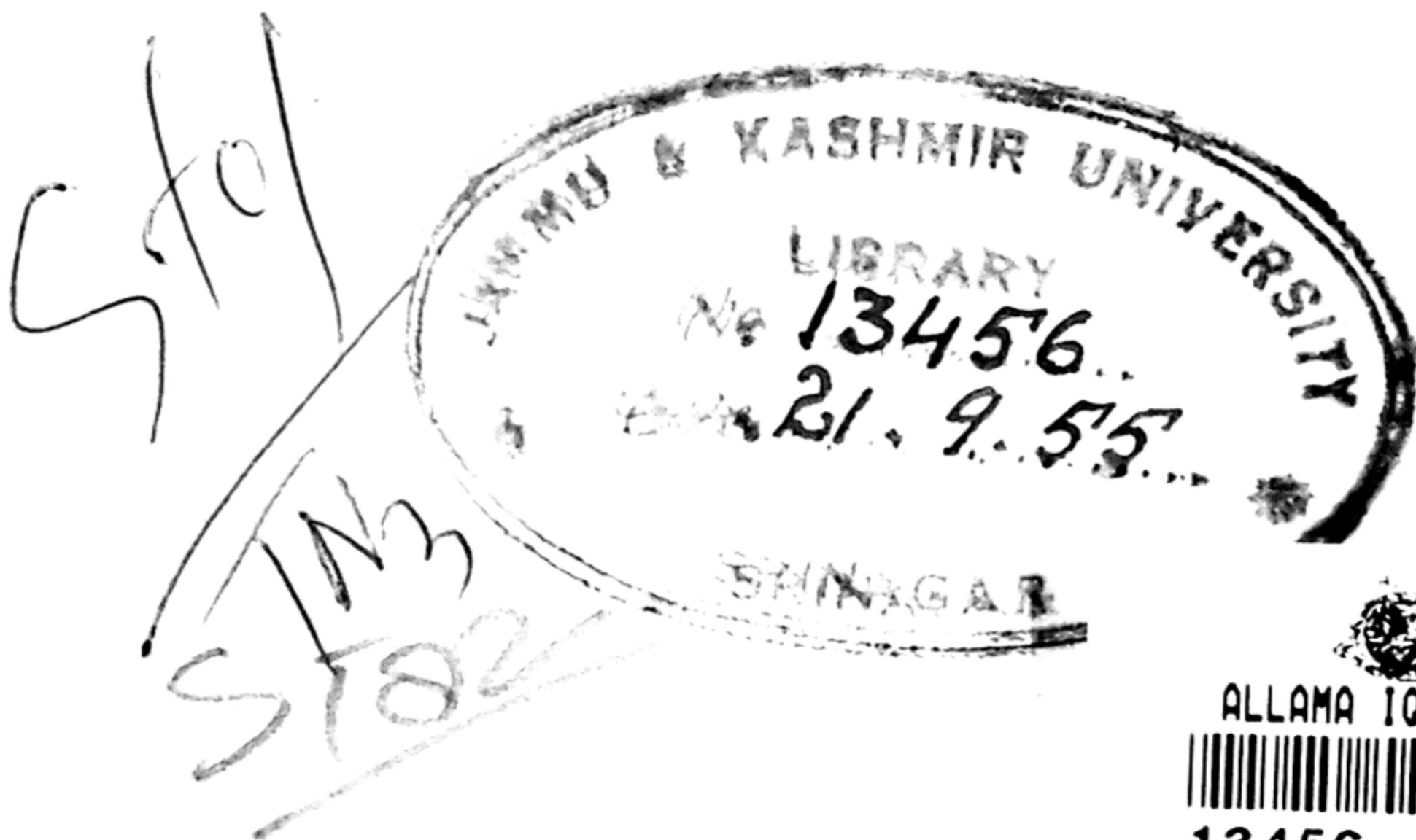


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## FOREWORD

THIS series aims at presenting in an attractive form English texts which have not only intrinsic merit as literature, but which are also valuable as manifestations of the spirit of the age in which they were written. The plan was inspired by the desire to break away from the usual annotated edition of English classics and to provide a series of books illustrating some of the chief developments in English civilization since the Middle Ages. Each volume will have a substantial introduction, which will relate the author to the main currents of contemporary life and thought, and which will be an important part of the book. Notes, where given, will be brief, stimulating, and designed to encourage the spirit of research in the student. It is believed that these books will be of especial value to students in universities and the upper forms of schools, and that they will also appeal very much to the general reader.

VIVIAN DE SOLA PINTO

*General Editor*

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## PREFACE

JONATHAN SWIFT is justly esteemed as the great satirist who could also write a good story. His common fame rests mainly on *Gulliver's Travels* and in a less degree on *A Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*. But these, his greatest writings, constitute a small portion of the total bulk of his work, much the largest part of which arose, like them, out of his lively and serious concern with the affairs of his age.

The purpose of this volume of selections from Swift's writings is to exhibit him in the setting of the Augustan age. As the above-mentioned books are easily obtainable and not neglected, it is thought that readers will be best served by confining the present choice to his less well-known writings, and including more of his vigorous verse than is usual in such a collection.

It is hoped that in this way the range and variety of his genius will be better appreciated. At the same time it is suggested that to follow Swift through the circumstances of his time and to inquire what his contemporaries learnt from him, to enter into his hopes for his age and to measure his disappointments, is the most salutary preparation for a reassessment of his importance as an author. For Swift was not a satirist all the time, and his satire must be read in the light of his positive principles of religion and politics, morality and human knowledge. To do this is also to learn more about the conditions of life and the trends of thought in England and Ireland during the first third of the eighteenth century than is perhaps to be gathered from any other single author. From first to last the distinctive features of Swift's mind are an acute under-

standing of the practical affairs of his age and an unshakeable adherence to principle.

In preparing the notes I have consulted all the editions listed in the bibliography; some of the pieces have not been annotated before. It is believed that no volume of selections from Swift has been so fully supplied with elucidatory matter since Craik's volumes, published sixty years ago, and that this will assist the modern reader to re-examine Swift's writings in the light of the eighteenth century.

I am grateful to Professor F. W. Baxter, Professor A. R. Humphreys, and Professor V. de S. Pinto for their advice, to the Clarendon Press and Sir Harold Williams for permission to use material from his edition of Swift's poems, and to the Keeper of the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum for permission to print from a manuscript of Swift.

C.J.H.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	
<i>The Age</i>	11
<i>Swift's Principles</i>	14
<i>Religion and Learning</i>	17
<i>Church and State</i>	21
<i>English Politics</i>	27
<i>Ireland</i>	36
<i>Conclusion</i>	45
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	48
THE TEXT	51
MANNERS AND MORALITY	
A DESCRIPTION OF THE MORNING (1709)	53
A DESCRIPTION OF A CITY SHOWER (1710)	53
UPON THE SOUTH-SEA PROJECT (1721)	56
THE FURNITURE OF A WOMAN'S MIND (1727)	64
A TREATISE ON GOOD-MANNERS AND GOOD-BREEDING (? 1728)	66
DIRECTIONS TO SERVANTS: CHAP. III. Directions to the Footman (c. 1730-40)	72
CHURCH AND STATE	
THE SENTIMENTS OF A CHURCH-OF-ENGLAND MAN (? 1708)	85
AN ARGUMENT AGAINST ABOLISHING CHRISTIANITY (1708)	112

ENGLISH POLITICS	PAGE
VERSES ON THE UNION (? 1707)	127
THE EXAMINER NO. 14 (1710)	128
THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES (1711)	133
THE FABLE OF MIDAS (1712)	143
THE FIRST ODE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF HORACE PARAPHRAS'D (1714)	146
THE AUTHOR UPON HIMSELF (1714)	150
A SATIRICAL ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF A LATE FAMOUS GENERAL (1722)	153
PREACHING AND POETRY	
A LETTER TO A YOUNG GENTLEMAN (1720)	155
ON POETRY, A RAPSODY (1733)	175
IRELAND	
A LETTER TO THE SHOP-KEEPERS, ETC. (1724)	192
IRELAND (1727)	203
AN ANSWER TO SEVERAL LETTERS (? 1729)	205
A MODEST PROPOSAL (1729)	211
ON THE IRISH BISHOPS (1732)	221
NOTES	224
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	281

## INTRODUCTION

### *THE AGE*

ENGLISHMEN of the eighteenth century, particularly the first part of it, had considerable confidence in themselves and an expanding pride in their country. After a century of political and religious conflict, they could at last reorder their affairs on the basis of the Revolution Settlement of 1689. Warned by the memory of a civil war, and heartened by their rapid recovery, they believed that they knew how to manage things better for the future. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Dryden, then in his last year, dismissed the old age of war and change with relief, and some disillusion:

'Tis well an Old Age is out,  
And time to begin a New.<sup>1</sup>

Younger men hopefully welcomed the new era.

There was sound cause for this confidence.) The tolerable and tolerant way of life now emerging from the strong swell of passion, and still not firmly secured, appeared as no mere fortuitous turn in history. It had come about through the capacity of Englishmen to learn from distressing experience and to apply their minds to the science of government. Above all, it was based on their practice of moderation, and on a capacity to get on together while permitting a diversity of political opinions and religious creeds.

(They did not misjudge themselves. The eighteenth century was on the whole an age of enlightenment and good sense, justly pleased with its escape from the excesses of tyranny and

<sup>1</sup> *The Secular Masque* (1700).



fanaticism alike. Educated men had a sound understanding of their world, approved its cultural and social standards, and knew what satisfactions they wanted from it. Locke was the representative philosopher. An advocate of peace and an exemplar of the power of calm thought, he demonstrated both the capacity and the limitations of the human mind, insisted on the primary importance of sound education, vindicated the power of the people against the theory of the divine right of kings, promoted religious toleration, and argued for the reasonableness of Christianity.)

( For most men the clear evidence of a new and better state of life was to be seen in two distinctly English achievements. Constitutional government under a limited monarchy and the latitudinarian compromise in the Church of England were proof enough that they were in advance of the rest of the world. There is no <sup>hypocritical speech about</sup> cant in their constant acclaim of English liberty.) To their causes for satisfaction must be added the advances of the new science, the general prosperity at home, the rapid extension of their empire and trade abroad, and the enhanced power of England in European politics. (The discoveries of Newton about the nature of the universe, far from giving a shock to their system, seemed only to confirm their conviction of a divinely ordained order in all things. Within that order their commercial enterprise could happily operate.)

( Many Englishmen believed that their country was now at the height of its history, beyond which a fair plateau of ordered culture and prosperous enjoyments opened out before them. Men no longer felt the need to agonize for a better state; they had only to realize the benefits of the world they already possessed. ✓ Underneath all party issues in Church and State could be found a solid basis for agreement. For some men this comfortable view involved the conviction that in their time and country the classical ages were renewing themselves in a Christian setting.) To others it suggested a new philosophy of



human progress, according to which the steady accumulation of knowledge had carried modern man far on in advance of earlier ages. There were still others who were sceptical of both views, and challenged the new optimism as a shallow complacency which mistook irrational novelties in religion and learning for improvements on the ancient world. (For this was a critical age, and its criticism was often grounded in conservative beliefs. Men like Sir William Temple, disciplined by the traditional and aristocratic modes of learning, took classical culture as their standard, while hesitating to accept the possibility that it could be reproduced in the modern world. The evidence of many of the vaunted modern achievements seemed to them to prove just the contrary.)

(Jonathan Swift, while drawn for a time during the reign of Queen Anne into some sympathy with the first of these three groups, stood closest to the last, and was contemptuous of the philosophy of progress. The belief that the English tradition was now being consummated in a society that could rival the glories of Greece and Rome) is well illustrated by the following passage from Jonathan Richardson's *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715):

Whatever degeneracy may have crept in from causes which it is not my present business to inquire into, no nation under heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks, and Romans as we. There is a haughty courage, an elevation of thought, a greatness of taste, a love of liberty, a simplicity, and honesty amongst us, which we inherit from our ancestors, and which belong to us as Englishmen; and it is in these this resemblance consists.<sup>1</sup>

Swift shared this faith, up to a point. (It was his ambition to write the history of the reign of Queen Anne, and one argument that he seriously advances in his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) is that this

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in *Before the Romantics*, edited by G. Grigson (Routledge, 1946), p. 204.



glorious reign "ought to be recorded in words more durable than brass, and such as our posterity may read a thousand years hence, with pleasure as well as admiration." Just so Horace and Virgil had celebrated the reign of Augustus. Swift's own age did not need praise; he could serve it better by checking its evils, and thereby making it more worthy of record.) Unlike Richardson, Swift considered it his present and perpetual business to inquire into the causes of the degeneracy that had crept in, and to use his powers to arrest them. The need was greatest when the corruptions of Walpole's administration took hold upon the nation.

( With a critical spirit such as his, Swift was born in the right age; not simply because no age could more deserve his satire, but because, in principle at least, it approved of criticism. It was an age that understood and accepted the power of the human intellect to control the conduct of human life. Criticism was seen as a necessary and positive function of society. The satirist, indeed, if he is to be more than a jester or carper, if he is actively to shape the features of his age, must be firmly attached to positive values—not so much ideals, as convictions to which he gives intellectual as well as emotional assent; not personal singularities, but standards of behaviour capable of correcting the aberrations of his time.)

### SWIFT'S PRINCIPLES

Before proceeding to an examination of the particular specimens of Swift's writing brought together in this volume, it will be as well to set down some of the basic principles that these writings disclose. These principles are not a matter of inference only. (Swift's purpose being didactic as well as critical, his work when viewed as a whole will appear at least as much expository as satirical. If he rarely goes deep in his expositions, he is always eminently clear and convincing; his opinions are at



times delivered so simply and forthrightly that we, habituated to his irony, may be misled into suspecting their sincerity or their efficacy. In truth, when we dodge round his irony—and, it should be observed, irony was not his permanent habit of mind, or his only way of grappling the reader to him—his counsels appear to be as sound, as sane, and often as moderate, as any we can find in the age. It is not violence or a perverse hatred of life, but a consistently rational understanding of his age and a courageous insistence on his rightness, that distinguish the genius of Swift.)

(To speak summarily, he was above all a Christian, a humanist, and a moralist, conservatively attached to the central tradition of European civilization. This involved an unquestioning acceptance of the simple truths of Christianity, especially as taught by the Anglican Church. There was nothing he believed in more steadfastly or more deeply, and to ignore this fact is to obscure the affirmative side of his criticism. More will be said of it farther on.

His traditionalism involved also an admiration for the order and refinement of the classical way of life, the foundations of which, he insisted, were the teachings of the Greek moral philosophers.) "Corruptions," he observed, "are more natural to mankind than perfections." (This typically Christian pessimism, with its awareness of evil warring on the good, he unflinchingly accepted, while placing it on the rational basis of a conflict between reason and passion, as others like Milton had done before him.) In this he accorded with neo-Stoicism, acclaiming the lesson of those Greek moralists who had demonstrated, as he said, that "Passion should never prevail over Reason." Reason, it should be added, was for Swift rather the recognition of innate good sense in mankind than any great trust in the ratiocinative powers of the human mind.

(Admiration of the ancient world did not altogether imply a distrust of his own age and country, as his acceptance of evil



did not mean a rejection of ordinary humanity.) The English Constitution and the Revolution Settlement were acceptable facts, so long as they were operated for the true end of government, the good of the State as a whole, and were not subverted to the limited service of party and the self-seeking of powerful individuals like Marlborough and Walpole, or even at times his own superiors in the Church. (Decent living was what he sought for men. Justice and liberty were its guarantees, a sound moral and rational education was its instrument, Christianity and the classics supplying the precepts, history confirming and illustrating them.)

Finally, his life was ennobled by a love of individual men, with a fierce hostility to the passions of mobs and the selfishness of sectional interests as its corollary, mobs providing the fools, and parties the knaves who exploited them. (Unconvinced as he was by the current acceptance of a philosophy of progress, and opposing to it his belief that the fundamental nature of man, like the universal truths derived from reason, is unchanging, he was nevertheless committed to no static view of civilization. If man cannot advance far, he can all too obviously lapse into barbarism, and that was the constant threat he saw in his age. It was a danger to which "the rudeness of our northern genius" (a frequent axiom of Swift's) made Englishmen peculiarly liable.)

It is not contended in stating these leading ideas that Swift was a profound thinker. (He was in fact scornful of metaphysics and all speculative philosophy, such as the contemporary absorption in problems of will and intellect, simple and complex ideas, matter and motion, and the like.) He objected, as he did likewise to the investigations of some of the scientists, that such exercises of the mind were too remote from practical affairs to have any use. Unaware, or unwilling to admit, how much his own thinking had been affected by Locke, he frequently sneered at him, though the antipathy is to be explained



partly by his greater aversion to the atheists and free-thinkers who were appropriating Locke's theories to weaken traditional Christianity and sometimes to justify downright immorality. )

(Swift was, however, notably well read in ancient and modern authors, the obscure as well as the great. In the years he spent in Sir William Temple's household between 1689 and 1699 he had more than made good his failure to get the best out of his university education in Dublin.) Thereafter he ranged less widely, for he knew by then what was worth reading, and was more concerned with the practical affairs of England and Ireland and the conduct of his duties in the Church. In the common life of his age there was little that escaped his observation; he knew it precisely and fully. All the evidence confirms the report of Lord Orrery:

I always considered him as an *Abstract and brief chronicle of the times*; no man being better acquainted with human nature, both in the highest, and in the lowest scenes of life. His friends, and correspondents, were the greatest and most eminent men of the age. The sages of antiquity were often the companions of his closet: and although he industriously avoided an ostentation of learning, and generally chose to draw his materials from his own store; yet his knowledge in the antient authors evidently appears from the strength of his sentiments, and the classic correctness of his style.<sup>1</sup>

### RELIGION AND LEARNING

Though none of his earliest writings is included in this volume, something must be said about Swift's remarkable entry into the world of letters. (His powers came rapidly to maturity during his three periods of residence with Sir William Temple between 1689 and 1699. That maturity appears in the two works written towards the end of that time, though not

<sup>1</sup> *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (third edition, 1752), p. 213.

published until 1704, *The Battle of the Books* and *A Tale of a Tub*. As they are nearly the earliest of his writings, so they are almost his greatest. Allegorical exhibitions of his views on religion and learning, with parody and burlesque as the instruments for exposing to ironic ridicule the advanced thought of the day, they are unsurpassed for the ingenuity and the exuberance with which he stripped their presumption from the apostles of progress. Together they show that Swift, now well grounded in the thought and history of the seventeenth century, in classical literature and in Christian theology, had already arrived at those permanent attitudes we have summarized above.

Significantly, he began with religion. Probably in 1696, and shortly after he had entered the ministry of the Church in Ireland, he wrote those sections of the *Tale* that recount the history of the Christian sects as a struggle of three brothers, Peter, Martin, and Jack, to possess the inheritance of their father. "It Celebrates," as he firmly insisted in his later *Apology*, "the Church of *England* as the most perfect of all others in Discipline and Doctrine." Its superiority as the most moderate and reasonable of religions is emphasized by contrast with "the Follies of Fanaticism and Superstition," of Non-conformity and Romanism, between which it stands as divine and firm as the original rock. Roman Catholicism being now a discredited alternative to the Established Church in England, his scornful wit is concentrated on the more serious challenge of the dissenting sects, strong among the middle classes, and now after their setback in Restoration times seriously complicating the post-Revolution adjustment of English politics. As yet, however, it is the intellectual implications of Dissent, more than the political dangers, with which Swift is concerned.

At this point, 1697-98, he found it appropriate to make a limited excursion into the controversy about the relative merits of Ancients and Moderns. It was expedient, for one thing, to



relieve his patron Temple from an embarrassment. At the same time, he saw the wider relevance of the dispute to the religious issue. ✓ The controversy about the superiority of Ancients or Moderns, arising in Europe as a consequence of the Renaissance, and exciting renewed interest in the France of Louis XIV, had been touched off in England by Temple's essay *On Ancient and Modern Learning* (1690). It is doubtful if anyone in England seriously contested the superiority of classical literature. But Temple's arguments had gone beyond that, and sought to disparage modern science and philosophy. ✓ This was the concern of the Royal Society, which accordingly authorized the brilliant young scholar William Wotton to defend its cause in his *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694). The fight was on, though it was soon diverted to a more restricted quarrel about the authenticity of the Epistles of Phalaris, which Temple had praised as an example of the superiority of the oldest books.

Modernism is Swift's butt in *The Battle of the Books*; the Phalaris controversy merely provides the occasion. Our applause is given first to the vigorous mock-heroic narrative of the battle "that happened on *Friday* last between the *Antient* and *Modern Books* in the *King's Library*," and is thereafter sustained by its aptness at every point to the dispute. Ultimately the book is more memorable for the seemingly incidental fable of the spider and the bee, and the mock-epic intervention of the "malignant Deity, call'd *Criticism*." This last is the genius of the Moderns, scientists, philosophers, and authors alike, as Swift perceives them. The goddess recalls Milton's formidable figure of Sin, as no doubt Swift intended she should. The disgusting offspring of Ignorance and Pride, and sister of Opinion, she breeds a horrid crew named Noise and Impudence, Dullness and Vanity, Positiveness, Pedantry, and Ill-Manners. With this animated allegorical group Swift stigmatizes the corruption of the faculty of reason. That it has degenerated since

ancient times is further insinuated in the wittily characterized discourse between the modern spider and the ancient bee, where the distinction, summed up in a moral spoken by Æsop, is between the sweetness and light of the old and the dirt and poison of the new.)

( It was probably at this time that Swift returned to *A Tale of a Tub*, now binding into it by way of digressions his vigorous assaults on the proud novelties in learning of "this polite and most accomplish'd Age," and enlarging on themes that had appeared in his early verses. Religion and learning, he saw, had progressed down the same slope to corruption. A combination of materialism and irrational enthusiasm, aggravations of man's innate depravity, by threatening the orthodoxies of religion and learning portended an age of folly and atheism. To the modern reader the *Tale* may seem confusing by reason of its complex structure and those qualities that Dr Johnson noted in it, "a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and vivacity of diction." But there is no mistaking, for all its brilliance, the earnestness of Swift's antipathy to enthusiasm and excess of all kinds. Enthusiasm was at the time almost a technical term for the belief in a personal revelation of the divine Will and the religious frenzy it often evoked among the Dissenters, and Swift makes play with the deviations in personal morality and political action that it led to. To this unchecked exercise of the religious imagination he links the scientists' trust in the evidence of the senses, both of them illusions of the modern age. All such innovations are revealed in the end as related forms of madness in a commonwealth, for

when a Man's Fancy gets *astride* on his Reason, when Imagination is at Cuffs with the Senses, and common Understanding, as well as common Sense, is Kickt out of Doors; the first Proselyte he makes, is Himself, and when that is once compass'd, the Difficulty is not so great in bringing over others; A strong Delusion always operating from *without*, as vigorously as from *within*.



The restraints upon such delusions, it is implied, can be found in the sanities of classical culture and the Church of England.)

By the age of thirty Swift had laid bare the presumptions of the day with a sharp realism and a remarkable grasp of traditional knowledge. *A Tale of a Tub*, one of the most original of books, is also one of the most allusive and most conservative, but every idea is freshly examined by the test of what it amounts to in terms of human behaviour. Inquiries about the nature of man in relation to the universe were irrelevant. The nature of man seemed obvious enough: capable of reason and goodness, of sweetness and light, but ever and anon given over to sin and folly. Swift's experience of worldly affairs was as yet limited; the ample experiences of his subsequent career confirmed his early view and strengthened his endeavour to hold sin and folly in check. How that worked out in practice the pieces printed in the present volume will show.

### CHURCH AND STATE

( Swift has recorded that he gave much study to the nature of government, yet had "dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, till about a year before the late King William's death." Government he had studied as much from the records of history as from the books of theorists. In this pragmatic approach he was to find himself in sympathy with Bolingbroke. For both it was the history of England since the end of the fifteenth century that was most instructive, the period for which, as Bolingbroke later put it in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, "modern history is peculiarly useful to the service of our country." Yet it was to classical history that Swift, as a supporter of both the Ancients and the Whigs, turned first for instructive parallels with the politics of his own age. )



These are set out in *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome* (1701), his first intervention in politics referred to above, and they are applied in the defence of the Whig lords after an attempted impeachment by the Tories. William III had always found more reliable support among the Whigs, heirs to the Puritan parliamentarians, than among the Tories, still at that date High Church and largely Jacobite in sympathy. Swift was a High Churchman too, and, as we have seen, detested Puritan dissent; but unlike many Tories he completely accepted the constitutional principles of the settlement of 1689. He had good cause, quite apart from the impression made upon him by Temple's politics. As an Anglo-Irishman he knew at first hand those miseries of civil warfare that were only an historical memory for most Englishmen, and he was bound to honour William of Orange as the saviour of Protestantism in Ireland, and to fear the Pretender for the opposite reason. The Revolution, with all its dangerous consequences, had been justified by the public good. Much as he came to detest the first two Hanoverian kings, Swift never wavered in his acceptance of the Protestant dynasty.

(In the latter half of 1708 he was engaged on a group of writings that give versatile expression to his views on religion, and more particularly on the relation of Church and State in England. These were (i) *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man, with Respect to Religion and Government*; (ii) *An Argument to Prove, that the Abolishing of Christianity in England, May, as Things now stand, be attended with some Inconveniencies*, etc.; and (iii) *A Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners*.) The titles indicate their different approaches. The *Sentiments* is a thoughtful statement of his views, bringing theory to the test of historical experience; the *Argument* is a dexterously ironical comment on some features of the situation; the *Project* is a set of practical proposals for the reform

of social morality by the co-operation of Church and Government.

*The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* is a document of central importance for the understanding of all Swift's writings. It is possible that he wrote it as early as 1704, at a time when the political parties were frantic over the attempt of the Tories finally to shut out Dissenters from public office by their Bill against Occasional Conformity. However that may be, the sentiments expounded, without any of the exaggeration or the tendentiousness of his polemical writings, are those of an independently minded and honest man. They remained essentially unaltered throughout his life, and whenever afterwards he writes political and religious satire, these are the standards he assumes as the measure of the good and reasonable. As the numerous references in the tract to the events of the time are elucidated in the notes to the present volume, the discussion can be limited here to his statements of principle.

Swift would never allow that there was any profound mystery about the science of government: its practice required only diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. Though as a realist he allows that men are just as naturally given to faction, it is a tendency that must be controlled. To the extreme views of both parties of the day, and the provocations they produce, he had the greatest aversion. Always parties are a form of factious enthusiasm, built on contention rather than on a disinterested search for truth. The claims of conscience, justice, and patriotism are to be put before loyalty to party, which can never raise men much above personal interest. He was most favourably placed by his connexion with both parties in the reign of Anne and the influence he acquired with the Tory Ministry from 1710 to 1714 to observe the early growth of the modern party and Cabinet system, and he was never happy about it. He saw, indeed, so much lying and personal dishonesty associated with party struggles that he very



excusably failed to foresee the superior advantages of the emergent system as the safeguard of the Constitution and the liberty of all elements in the state. In the *Sentiments* he seems to be offering to the political leaders an alternative system in which they can unite to form a party to end all parties.

( It was stability and security within the state that he sought, while failing to see that any system of universal conformity may produce a new form of tyranny. Arbitrary power of every kind he considered a greater evil than anarchy, thereby making the retort direct to the central tenet of Hobbes, so influential in the seventeenth century. He rejects alike the despotism of a Stuart king and the supremacy of a Puritan oligarchy, though he is gentler in his argument with the supporters of divine right and passive obedience, treating them as a set of high-minded but misguided men.) They have made the mistake of confusing the legislature and the administration. Against their extremism he argues that the power in the state must remain with the people as a whole, and to ensure this, power must be balanced among the three estates, king, nobles, and commons. The freedom of the whole consists in an absolute unlimited power of the legislature, the parliament of Lords and Commons, and a due limitation of the executive function of the monarch and his Ministers. The view is stated still more precisely in his *Remarks* (1707) upon Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church*. He would even allow the right of Parliament to abolish the Established Church, though he stresses what a calamity that would be for England, where Parliament and the Church are so happily identified in representing the genius of the nation.

The principle of toleration, so essential to the peace of the new order in England, he affirms less readily and with several important reservations. In the first place a distinction is made between an unlimited liberty of conscience and an unrestricted expression of opinion. Individuals may think as they please so long as they do not promulgate their opinions



in a way that might discompose the harmony of the state. Further, he compromises, rather grudgingly, by accepting the sects already tolerated (while firmly opposing the rise of new ones) but excluding them all from public office and participation in government.

*An Argument against Abolishing Christianity* was the only one of Swift's pamphlets at this time, apart from the Partridge papers, where he was not confining himself mainly to direct exposition and argument. It is indeed one of his great satirical pieces, less exuberant than *A Tale of a Tub*, which in passages it often recalls, but by its perfect assurance and control of the ironic manner more efficient in achieving its purpose. The *Sentiments* and the *Argument*, when seen together, set in brilliant juxtaposition Swift's two main styles, and he was now master of both. The one, expository in manner, wins confidence by its evident frankness and convinces the reader by the cool lucidity and orderly disposition of its reasoning; the other, apparently less dogmatic and equally calm in manner, is in fact more decisive, assuming the attitudes of his adversaries only to reduce them, with every appearance of innocence, to the last absurdity. In this use of the *reductio ad absurdum* Swift had discovered the basic form that he was to use in all his great satires. The one manner builds up a positive structure of reason; the other is a process of demolition, where reason is the wrecker.

In the *Argument*, "one of the most felicitous efforts in our language to engage wit and humour on the side of religion" (it is Sir Walter Scott's description), Swift risks misunderstanding of his own position as a devout Christian by pretending to accept the reasonableness of the free-thinkers in rejecting real Christianity, while deferentially pointing out some of the inconveniences that will result unless a nominal Christianity is maintained. Thus he counters the popular free-thinkers like Asgill, Tindal, Toland, Coward, "and Forty more," and all



those rakes like the Earl of Wharton who found in this liberty of opinion a convenient justification for licence in their morals. At the same time his irony reaches down beyond the Deists and the libertines to "the strong Reasoners" and "the Deep-Thinkers of the Age," the disciples of Hobbes and Locke, and drags up into the light the whole policy of Latitudinarianism within the Whig party.

The unabashed rejection of the supernatural elements of Christianity and the advocacy of natural religion represented a serious despiritualizing of orthodox faith and tended finally, as Swift genuinely believed, to atheism. His own practice of religion, it is true, was marked by no spiritual raptures. That is not to say that he was anything but a normally devout man, worshipping in obedience a God whose justice was the commanding fact in the mystery of his being. About the mysteries of religion Swift precisely stated his own position later in *A Letter to a Young Gentleman, lately entered into Holy Orders*. "Mysteries are natural to divinity, and as they are mysteries, it is not God's intention to make them intelligible to men. Man's duty is therefore to accept them implicitly, the clergyman's to teach them, without attempting to probe and explain. The requirements are plain and easy for a pious Church of England man, and he puts them first, as indisputable, of his *Sentiments*: "whoever professeth himself a Member of the Church of *England*, ought to believe a God, and his Providence, together with revealed Religion, and the Divinity of *Christ*."

In the *Argument* Swift had related the undoubted depravity of his age to the general decline of piety. *A Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners*, not included in the present volume, is a comprehensive guide to those depravities among all classes in the age of Anne. The lack of worldly knowledge when he wrote *A Tale of a Tub* had now been supplied by residence in London, where he had become an accepted wit and man of letters in Addison's circle.



On its appearance this anonymous reforming tract was hailed by Steele in the *Tatler* for the wisdom and piety of its author, a man "whose virtue sits easy about him, and to whom vice is thoroughly contemptible." But his contempt does not abide in a puritanical denunciation; the least sympathetic reader of Swift must allow that there is neither sneering nor misanthropy here. An unblushing and unblinking review of the vices of the time is accompanied by a set of practical proposals for a reformation, many of them anticipating later developments in State control and revealing that authoritarian strictness in Swift's nature that distinguishes it from the simpler humanity of Steele and the gentler persuasiveness of Addison.

Reformation is to begin at the top, and he appeals to the Queen to exact higher standards from her courtiers and Ministers (they were Whigs at the time), and to withhold favour and promotion from the recalcitrant. It must include the improvement of education in its three aspects—the inculcation of moral duties, the knowledge of arts, and bodily exercise. In his most pessimistic years Swift never lost his faith in education as a corrective for man's natural degeneracy; it is a conviction that should not be overlooked in estimating the positive values in his satirical view of life. Finally, he demands more missionary zeal by the Church and greater respect for the clergy, who must mingle more with the laity and win esteem and love by their behaviour. He believed that he was making his own contribution by his appearances during these years on the London scene, and by the more active part that he was now taking up in politics.

### ENGLISH POLITICS

( Opposed to faction as he was, Swift nevertheless allowed that in certain junctures a man must decide for one party, and such a juncture will occur when his attempts to mediate between both parties have failed. The pamphlets that he wrote in



1708 were a clear warning to the Whigs, who had so far given little encouragement to Swift as a political counsellor, or as a clergyman seeking remission of the payment of first-fruits by the Irish Church and a chance of professional advancement for himself.) He was at the same time deeply apprehensive of Whig endeavours to win the support of the Dissenters by their repeated rejection of the Tory Bill for Preventing Occasional Conformity and their evident desire to remove the Sacramental Test in Ireland. Between 1699 and 1708 Swift resided alternately in both countries, and saw the Established Church threatened in both. The Whigs, moreover, included many supporters who despised the clergy and the universities, and were often libertines and free-thinkers themselves. It was his growing awareness of these things that forced him without any change of principle to transfer his support to a Tory party that by 1710 seemed purged of Jacobitism and genuinely concerned to maintain the establishment of the Anglican Church.

When Swift returned to England at the beginning of September 1710 a big change was imminent in politics, and it gave him his opportunity to achieve a political eminence attained by few previous English authors. His success was not a matter of luck. It was the recognition of the singular compulsion of a vigorous personality and a powerful mind, acting through private counsels on the leading Tory statesmen and through the Press upon a responsive public, that sought as never before to be instructed. To understand this changed situation it is necessary to make a brief review of the relations of the two parties from the beginning of Anne's reign, and the attitude of each to the War of the Spanish Succession that had begun at that date.

Arising out of the disputed claim to the Spanish throne, the war was in effect a struggle to curb the mighty power of France and to share out the rich Spanish empire. As such it was the culmination of the lifelong policy of William III, who had pre-

pared for it with the Grand Alliance between England, Holland, and the Austrian Emperor, with many of the German princes in support. The main campaign of the war up to 1709 was fought in the Netherlands by Marlborough with brilliant generalship. Yet, despite the steady exhaustion of France, ultimate victory eluded the Allies, largely because the Spanish people had come to prefer the French nominee, Philip of Anjou. The dynamic of the war on both sides had run down, and by 1709-10 the Tories saw their opportunity to regain power and bring the war to an end. Their support for the war, never very enthusiastic, had steadily diminished as their resentment at the cost of it increased. As the result of increased taxation the cost, they maintained, fell chiefly upon their supporters among the landed men; while the merchants and stockholders among the Whigs profitably extended their holdings in the National Debt.

It was the unreliability of the Tories, in fact, that had driven Marlborough steadily over to the side of the Whigs. Queen Anne, a devout supporter of the Church, had replaced William's Whig lords with a High Church Tory Ministry that included Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin. While Marlborough led the fighting, it was Godolphin's task to find the money to pay for it, and they were united in trying to avoid serious dissensions at home. That meant conciliating the Whig merchants and the Dissenters. One result was the Act of Union in 1707, made possible by diplomatic concessions to the Scots. Another was the curbing of the Earl of Nottingham and the extreme Tories by frustrating all attempts to pass the Bill against Occasional Conformity and replacing them in the Ministry by the more moderate Harley and St John. After 1705 Marlborough and Godolphin moved closer to the Whig Junto, and between 1706 and 1708 replaced their disgruntled Tory colleagues with the intransigent Whig lords. The result was a fierce revival of party strife. Whigs and Tories were henceforth sharply separated by their attitude to the Church and to



the war. The injudicious impeachment of the High Church Dr Sacheverell in 1709 made the Whigs appear open enemies of the Church and rabid persecutors of their opponents, with the result that in the general election of the following year an excited electorate rallied to the Tories.

In this crisis both parties were eager to back their intrigues at court with popular favour, and both recognized the value to them of the newly established journalism. On arriving in London Swift found himself courted by both sides, and his decision was easy. His writings on Church and State in 1708-9 make it quite clear why he could no longer support the Whigs. Henceforth until 1713 his hope was to strengthen the Church and re-establish peace and prosperity in England by his support of the new Government. The progress of those hopes and his day-to-day activities are recorded in his correspondence and in the private pages of his *Journal to Stella*. His devotion to Harley and St John, and especially to the former, was founded on a belief in their personal virtues as men faithful to the Church and loyal to the Protestant succession. He saw in them the possibility of a new attitude in politics, a moderating and middle element between the money-seeking and irreligion of the Whigs and the Jacobite principles of the old Tories.

( His new work began at the end of October when he took over the *Examiner*, the newly established paper by which the Tory leaders hoped to counter the Whig propagandists and advance their own policy. Swift carried out that task with a sense of duty, not simply to a party, but to the country as a whole.) More clearly than any of his contemporaries he perceived how entirely the welfare of England hung upon the integrity of her statesmen, and by his sincerity and his great skill as a publicist he was able to communicate that awareness to all classes of the community, so that, says Dr Johnson, he "must be confessed to have dictated for a time the political opinions of the English nation."

In his first number he changed the line of the paper, declaring his connexion with both parties and announcing his intention to be an independent Examiner of the dangers into which the one party had led the country, and of the claims of the other to direct it in greater safety. It was his opportunity to vent his inveterate dislike of faction while making it appear that the disaffected Whigs were factious against their own country, and otherwise unfit for office. At the same time he had to reassure those who still thought of the Tories as the party of arbitrary government, sympathetic to Pope and Pretender. Always he is aware that he is appealing to many men not committed to any party, and though he speaks from the centre of government his appeal is directed beyond London to every corner of the land. The skill with which he managed this was something new in journalism, and it is not too much to claim that the response to his appeal secured the Tory Government in office. He gave a new seriousness to party spirit by his critical attention to every detail in the political events of the day, and added dignity by his repeated assertion that political action is to be judged by the same moral standards as apply to individual behaviour.

Regarded as writing, the virtue of these papers is in their plain competence even more than in the occasional brilliance of their satire. Their persistent urging of the moderate policy of the new Government (still a coalition) is enlivened by the ingenuity that finds such a variety of ways to reiterate the same narrow range of arguments, turning every occasion into an arresting proof of the need for that policy. The offenders are usually allowed to go unnamed, but Wharton and Marlborough never. It is always made obvious when they are being shot at, for in their abilities lay the last strength of the Whigs; moreover, Swift had sincere reasons for hating both, the one having the advantage of position and talent to license his profligacy, the other being a national hero whose greed



for money and power might pass unchecked amid the popular acclaim.

His second *Examiner*, of November 9, shows how immediately Swift achieved mastery in his new work. Party condemnation of the Whigs appears as a commanding homily on Political Lying. It surpasses most party pamphlets by the dexterity of its insinuations, and at its peak the contemptuous indictment of Wharton allies the reader with the writer in his concern with great moral issues.

By April 1711 Swift's main efforts in the *Examiner* were directed to preparing the nation for the peace with France that the Government had been secretly negotiating. To further this end he handed over the now authoritative *Examiner* to others, and turned to the preparation of his greatest political piece, *The Conduct of the Allies*. Carefully prepared from State documents and the private communications of Ministers, this decisive pamphlet was published on November 17, 1711. It was at once overwhelmingly successful, and, reaching so many thousands of readers throughout the country, prepared the way as nothing else could have done for the acceptance of the Tory peace policy. If it is not always strictly fair in its arguments, it at least achieved a praiseworthy end. Swift's private desire to be revenged on the Whigs was submerged in his inspiring conviction that peace was the greatest need of a country that for a generation had been habituated to think of war and rising taxation as inescapable conditions of existence.

From a characteristically judicial opening, analysing the aims of war in general, with particular illustrations from England's history, he proceeds to uncover the origins of the present conflict and to trace its progress. By firm argument and stinging sarcasm he implants a conviction that England has borne all the cost and done most of the fighting, while her allies have secured all the advantages. A powerful concentration of facts and unrelaxing logic brings him to the cause of English gulli-



bility: the country's good has been bartered for the private advantage of the Whigs, Marlborough, Godolphin, and the moneyed men behind them. Thus baldly stated, the case would appear hopelessly unconvincing; in the pamphlet itself nothing seems lacking for a complete proof. In a conclusion blended of irony, eloquence, and simple appeal, he calls on all Englishmen to renounce the Whigs and make an immediate peace as the only chance left to avert national bankruptcy.

To the bulk of his readers the pamphlet must have been utterly convincing, the only true and intelligible account they had had of the events of the last ten years. The Whigs had nothing to set against it, nothing to equal Swift's talent as a historian, his command of all the evidence, above all his power to communicate his sense of outrage until he turns even the genuine achievements of his opponents into the objects of their disgrace. He had saved the Government again. The resolutions in favour of peace were carried through Parliament, and the whole debate echoed with the words of this handbook of policy, prepared so eloquently for the purpose.

On the field of politics Marlborough had been finally out-generalled. He was dismissed from all his offices on December 30 and Swift danced in exultation over his great adversary to the tune of his allegorical lampoon *The Fable of Midas*. It is often said that Swift had been excessively malicious towards Marlborough, and it is true that Marlborough's reputation has never entirely been washed clean of the devil's mark that Swift daubed on it. Privately Swift respected his talents and could pity his disgrace; but his avarice, his ambition, and his pride, that satanic sin that Swift both hated and feared, were not to be condoned. Ten years later, when Marlborough died, Swift had not changed his opinion, and made out the Duke's passport for hell in the *Satirical Elegy on the Death of a late Famous General*. But that was not written for publication; the public oration had been made long since. The later verses were a

moral homily, and, despite their monumental tone, were essentially a private comment. As such they confirm the view that Swift's animus had always been at bottom a genuinely moral one.

All seemed set fair for a long period of Tory government under Harley and St John (now Earl of Oxford and Viscount Bolingbroke respectively), in which the country could thrive on the peace, finally concluded in 1713. But it was not to be. Oxford and Bolingbroke were soon quarrelling about the future of the party and the succession to the throne, the more forceful Bolingbroke soon outdistancing the cautious and procrastinating Oxford in Jacobite intrigues. Of these treasonable moves Swift seems to have known nothing; but he did see with increasing despair that the Ministry was doomed. Part of the record of his forebodings may be read in the *Journal to Stella*. After all his endeavours, faction was rampant again, and for himself he had secured no better recompense than the deanery of St Patrick's, in Dublin. From there he returned to London in September 1713 in a vain endeavour to reconcile the two men from whom he had hoped so much.

If he could not again save the Tories, he could at least hold off the ruin till another day by setting himself against the resurgence of Whig attacks. It was this political need that led him on from a personal quarrel with Steele to a bitter public contest. This reached its fiercest in January 1714, when Steele was preparing his sharpest attack on the loyalty of the Ministry in his much advertised pamphlet *The Crisis*. Swift quickly anticipated him with his jaunty imitation of Horace, *The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphras'd*, in which he seeks to discredit *The Crisis* in advance by a bantering ridicule of its self-proclaimed author. Nevertheless, *The Crisis* came out, and its open declaration that the Protestant succession was imperilled was more seriously, but no less spiritedly, blasted in Swift's prose pamphlet, *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*.



Swift could achieve no more. He waited in England until the death of the Queen in August cast the Tories under the feet of the Whigs, meanwhile writing two noble pieces of self-vindication against the detractors in Church and State who could never forgive him "his dang'rous Wit" and conscious superiority. They were the poems *The Author upon Himself* and the *Imitation of Part of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace*. Private pieces, written for the solace of himself and his friends, these poems were not published at the time. The first of them is so vituperative in places that its publication would have offered his head to the vengeful Whigs. As it was, Swift went in fear of his life, and many years were to pass before he appeared in print again. So great was his downfall.

It was the Whigs who now entered upon the long period of power that Swift had hoped to secure for the Tories. To Oxford and Bolingbroke he was still faithful through all his disillusion; by the success of the Whigs and the ultimate ascendancy of Walpole he was embittered for the rest of his life. *An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry*, on which he was at work as late as 1721, is the epitaph on his political career in England. It is more than that, for he conceives the sudden turn of events as a great tragedy, the tragedy of two statesmen he loved, and the tragedy of a whole nation, henceforth controlled by men whose rule was the negation of all those principles of personal honour, public morality, and religious piety which he had striven to implant in the life of England. It must never be overlooked that the indignation that burns through the remainder of his writings was not just the expression of personal frustration but the defiance of a defeated champion, condemned to behold the triumph of knavery and the acquiescence of fools. In this he was not unlike the Milton who wrote *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*.

Swift's defiance took the form of social satire, hereafter



a dominant feature of his writing, and the transfer of his political talents to the affairs of Ireland. The spirit of this later work, rightly regarded, is exhilarating and salutary rather than pessimistic or defeatist. The age had proved unworthy, but he would not cease to expose its depravity and to force men against their will, fools and knaves alike, to recognize their moral responsibilities. That is how his verses *Upon the South-Sea Project* and *On Poetry, A Rhapsody* are to be read. Walpole and the Georges, the puny wits of Grub Street, and the powerful stock-jobbers round the Exchange—high and low, all alike were castigated as the corrupt actors in the triumph of dullness and depravity.

### IRELAND

( Swift's enforced retirement to Ireland was for the next six years a period of silence in which he reflected with bitterness and melancholy on past hopes. It was a period of recuperation too. At first he had no intention of meddling in politics again, least of all those of Ireland. Patiently enduring the hostility he met in Dublin as a supposed Jacobite, and with few friends around him, he busied himself with putting the affairs of his cathedral in order. How enlightened he was in these new duties, how painstakingly he laboured in the humblest cares of a parson, can be gathered from his *Letter to a Young Gentleman, lately entered into Holy Orders* (1720), the first of his writings to be published by him after 1714. )

That his soundly practical advice to the novice was founded on his own experience as a preacher can be demonstrated from a study of his few surviving sermons. It was the first duty of the preacher, he insisted, "to tell the People what is their Duty; and then to convince them that it is so," thus to remedy "the great Decay of Religion." As a preacher he was always forthright and plain, holding up in the clearest light, and inescapably, the failure of piety and morals among his flock. To



be effective the clergy must be able, through a liberal education and devotion to their pastoral duties, to command greater respect than was generally accorded them. Just as Swift always presented the smaller immediate issue by reference to the greater end in view, so the *Letter* involves his conception of the proper use of learning, in which, as we have already noted, he found the classical writers a better guide than the pedantry of the moderns, better even than the early Fathers of the Church, and the best comment on the moral teaching of the Gospels. At the same time it is an expert discourse on prose style, in which he demonstrates his own standards of good writing and gives an invaluable lesson on the most common defects of prose in his day. While he makes his case against the corruptions that grew up with the Ciceronian mode, he looks back for his model to the plainer prose of the seventeenth century. The result is an admirable instance of his didactic manner, untouched by the dangerous obliquities of irony.

Committed now to a life in Ireland, he could not remain unmoved by Irish affairs. The events of the seventeenth century had left a situation there very different from that in England, and one that gave less satisfaction with the Revolution Settlement and less confidence for the future. After insurrection and the conquest of the native Irish, followed by confiscations in favour of Protestant settlers from England and Scotland, there were by the eighteenth century three main elements in Ireland, the Anglo-Irish rulers, the Ulster Presbyterians, and the native Catholic Irish, all of them more sharply separated by antecedents and interests than the factions in England.

The punitive measures, intensified after 1690, had effectively crushed the natives, depriving them of nearly all property and means of livelihood and scarcely allowing them the exercise of the religion to which they clung. They lived in abject poverty, often in conditions of life unknown in England, and roamed in



their thousands as beggars. Though a majority of five-sixths in the kingdom, the Catholics had no way of improving their lot, and could no longer be a real danger to the security of Ireland or England. In the government of their country they were allowed no share, and the leaders who might have rallied them were dispersed abroad, many of them in the armies of foreign states. Swift certainly did not fear them, but like the rest of the English overlords he despised these "poor Popish Natives" for their "Laziness, Ignorance, Thoughtlessness, squandering Temper, slavish Nature, and uncleanly Manner of Living." Yet he was not indifferent to them. The calls of justice and compassion, ever strong in his nature, were roused by the conditions around him until he was forced to see these miserable people as victims of the time, not wholly irreclaimable. He insisted—it was his permanent belief about all mankind—that education and a system of rewards would be at least as effective as privation in raising them "to a less savage manner of life."

The disabilities of the Presbyterian planters were less severe. They had to pay tithes to the Established Church, they could not sit in Parliament, and until the Toleration Act of 1719 they were excluded from all public offices. Against these restrictions were to be set their ability as enterprising farmers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, and the prospect of political amelioration held out by the dependence of the English rulers upon their support to keep the Irish in subjection. Swift had lived among them at Kilroot, and feared them as a challenge to the supremacy of his own kind in Ireland, as enemies to the Church, and as representative of the old Puritan fanaticism. For them he had least sympathy, and he did all he could to check the inevitable growth of their power.

The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, to which Swift belonged, was centred in Dublin, and maintained as the instruments of its power the Irish Parliament, the Government offices, and the

Anglican Church. But its members, English by descent or birth, by living in Ireland were denied many of the benefits of the Revolution that they would have enjoyed in England. They were subject to control from England, exercised through the Lords Lieutenant, the right of the English Government to make all appointments in Church and State, and the limitations upon the functions of their own Parliament. In 1720 an Act of the English Parliament reasserted the dependency of Ireland, which was in fact looked upon as a colony to be plundered for the benefit of England. To this end a series of restrictive measures had been enacted to prevent Irish agriculture and manufactures from competing with English interests. Prohibitions on the provision trade disrupted Irish economy by forcing a change-over to enclosures for growing wool, with a consequent drop in employment of Irish labour and the displacement of tenant-farmers. When the export of woollen manufactures was also stopped, the landlords, many of them absentees concerned only to maintain the incomes from land that enabled them to live comfortably in Dublin or England, let loose unscrupulous middlemen to rack-rent their tenants.

With the rampant commercialism of the Whigs after 1714 the subjection and impoverishment of Ireland began to be felt even among the Anglo-Irish. It was a policy that split the Ascendancy. In place of a party division between Whigs and Tories there was now a new alignment of interests. On the one side were the Anglo-Irish who had been born in the country and had held it against the invasion of James II. On the other were the Whig nominees, the agents of Walpole, "the gentlemen sent from the other side to possess most of the chief employments here." Swift's resumption of political activity was to provide the leadership and the binding force that the emergent Irish party lacked.

It is often said that Swift was an Irishman by birth and an Englishman by sympathy and interest. Such a contention



misses the real point. Certainly he resented having been born in Ireland, and yet, by birth, education, and the fact that he spent most of his life there, he was a genuine Anglo-Irishman; and when Ireland as a whole was oppressed by England, his innate loyalty to the Anglo-Irish led him to recognize that all elements in Ireland must unite in a common interest. His satisfaction at giving a check to his old enemies the Whigs went deeper than motives of revenge. The nature of Walpole's government confirmed his earlier case against the Whigs, and his old principles could now be reasserted in the Irish cause on the firm grounds of humanity, pain at the sight of misery, and indignation at the infringement of political liberty.

There is plain evidence that his concern for Ireland long antedated his hostility to Walpole. In *The Story of the Injured Lady*, written probably in 1707, at the time of the Union with Scotland, he complained that Ireland, the maiden betrothed by England, had been betrayed for an unlovely Scots mistress. His *Letter concerning the Sacramental Test* (1709) had challenged English interference in Irish affairs. By 1720 he had a clear case against England, and his campaign opened with *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. He no longer hoped to effect anything by an appeal to England, or even by direct attack; it is the Irish he upbraids, for their supineness, as he seeks to arouse them to a militant self-respect and self-dependence. Law, religion, and common humanity can be re-established only by their own actions. They have at least one remedy in their hands, to reject and renounce everything wearable that comes from England and to use only their own manufactures. Swift's urge for action was reasserting itself in the first stage of a boycott that leads on through a series of lesser tracts to his great triumph with the *Drapier's Letters*. In the meantime events were preparing the situation for him.

Ireland had no mint of its own, and the right to issue a coinage for the country was a prerogative of the King. It was

to England, therefore, that the Irish Government had to look, as in other matters, for an improvement in the currency, for which more coins of the smaller denominations were needed. Nevertheless, it came as a surprise to Irishmen, whose wishes had not been consulted, when on July 12, 1722, a Patent was granted to William Wood to mint and distribute a new copper coinage in halfpence and farthings for their country. Wood was an enterprising English business-man of dubious character, and the transaction had undoubtedly involved both bribery and political manœuvring. This, however, was not the cause of the spontaneous outcry that arose in Ireland against the Patent. A new spirit seemed to have entered into the people, and their pride spoke at last against the continued impositions from abroad, a pride supported by real fear that their commerce would be further impaired by this latest act of English government. In September 1723 the Irish Parliament met for the first time since 1715, and both Houses immediately protested against the Patent.

But the King and his Ministers were little used to hearing Irish protests, and showed no readiness to heed them. By the beginning of 1724 it was becoming clear that the Irish leaders would give way. At this point Swift decided to intervene and turn to effect the new impetus of Irish unity before it should dwindle away. In a succession of rousing pamphlets, written in the assumed character of M. B., a Dublin draper, and hence known as the *Drapier's Letters*, he worked up the whole Irish nation to such a passion of protest as could no longer be ignored.

The first of the *Drapier's Letters* appeared in March 1724, addressed to the ordinary people of Ireland, the shopkeepers, tradesmen, and farmers. With his singular skill for isolating the essentials of a situation, Swift puts the plain facts of the Patent before them, and in business-like calculations appropriate to an honest draper demonstrates the injurious conse-



sequences of the new coins upon the purses and livelihood of all classes. The time had come for united action, for another boycott. The King, he argues, has an undoubted right to issue such a Patent and his subjects have by anciently established law an equally clear right to refuse the money. The people of Ireland must "stand to it One and All: Refuse this *Filthy Trash*." Though Swift was immediately recognized as the author, the skilful assumption of the plain man's manner was exactly calculated, as it is in the narrative of the seafaring surgeon Gulliver, to win the trust of all classes. With the flimsier fuel of songs and ballads he kept the bonfire burning round Wood, while in the four further Letters that rapidly followed, Swift extended his argument to the principles underlying the dispute, the rights of the Irish nation in relation to England. Two other Letters kept in reserve were not needed. Prosecution of the printer and the offer of a reward for the 'discovery' of the author whose identity every one knew only made the upholders of the English Government more hateful and ridiculous. The Patent was withdrawn in August 1725. The Irish party had won its first victory, and Swift was "the Darling of the populace."

For the rest of his life he remained their hero, and through all his disappointments he never quite gave up his attempts to drum some practical wisdom into the Irish, who except on the one occasion of Wood's halfpence proved so incapable of helping themselves. Returning despondent from his last visit to England in 1727, he wrote bitterly in the privacy of his notebook the poem on Ireland, "this land of slaves," who in their readiness to be duped by England seemed more contemptible than the politicians who profited from their debasement.

At the same time the poem foreshadows his further participation in Irish affairs with an appeal over the heads of the authorities to the self-interest of common men. He was now

regarded as a local oracle, and the response he made in letters and pamphlets to those who consulted him, though often neglected by the modern reader of Swift, must make him a first-class authority on the economic conditions of the time, and win our admiration both for the soundness of his proposals and the foresight with which he planned for the improvement of the whole country. A good specimen of this aspect of his work is provided by *An Answer to Several Letters* (? 1729) with its realistic schemes for repairing roads, draining bogs, and generally improving agriculture, subjects that had long engaged his attention. It is false to think of him in these years as surfeiting his gloom on the sight of the misery around him. He had good advice to give, and he readily gave it where, because of his established prestige, it might in some measure be heeded.

A knowledge of these activities is essential for the just appraisal of the most famous and the most seriously misunderstood of all these pamphlets, *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of poor People in Ireland, from being a Burden to their Parents or Country* (1729). His ironical proposition is a horrible one; but the conditions that prompted it were more horrible still. After three years of famine the misery of the poor was extreme. Writing with deadly calm, as if he were putting forward just another of his practical schemes for the economic betterment of Ireland, Swift lays bare the causes of this suffering in Irish apathy and English callousness, and by his shock treatment seeks to arouse both sides to an awareness of their moral guilt. To understand this aright is to understand the power of Swift's humanity at its true measure.

Compassion for the common people, mainly Catholics, and concern with the economic problems of the entire country did not lessen his preoccupation with the cause of the Anglo-Irish and the Established Church. His inveterate mistrust of the power of the bishops and his own middle station in the Church made him particularly suspicious of the Irish episcopate, a body



composed largely of Whig nominees. When in February 1732 the bishops introduced into the Irish House of Lords "two abominable Bills, for enslaving and beggaring the clergy," he determined both to rescue the lower clergy from personal injustice and to curb the arrogance of their masters. His poem *On the Irish Bishops*, with its fiery denunciation of their greed and pride (whatever we may allow for personal spite), was entirely consonant with his lifelong endeavour to uphold the dignity of his fellow-clergy and to promote the pastoral efficiency of the Church.

It is no part of the present scheme to examine the culmination of Swift's genius in *Gulliver's Travels*. It must suffice to remind the reader that he was hard at work on that book between 1721 and 1725, the years in which he was giving so much of his energy to the cause of Ireland. That eagerness for the betterment of one section of mankind is reflected in several parts of the greater work. More important than that, *Gulliver's Travels* is the ultimate restatement of his view of human nature, expressed long before in *A Tale of a Tub*. It is also the summary of his whole career, and is the more memorable for being built out of all his experience. It gives the most challenging statement of the principles he had maintained in all his writings, through hope and disillusion. His insight into the real affairs of men, scientists and politicians, kings, beggars, poets, and Ministers, his scorn of fools and detestation of knaves—all is summed up in *Gulliver's Travels*, and any judgment that does not take into account what he had written elsewhere is likely to be distorted. Swift was no misanthropist. He was too much involved with the world about him, he cared too much for mankind, to hate it entirely. His principles of virtue and wisdom are precisely stated and enforced everywhere in his writings.



## CONCLUSION

(Positiveness of opinion and clarity of expression—these are qualities no one will deny to Swift. It should be easy, then, to make a just assessment of him. In fact it is not so, and never has been. The most diverse and conflicting judgments have been delivered. He excites in modern readers, as he did in contemporaries, reactions positive even to the point of violence: disgusted reprobation for his naked exposure of the animal in man or exhilarated delight in the acuteness of his wit; fascinated horror at the savagery of his indignation or tragic pity at the spectacle of his frustrated power and ultimate madness. It is fatally easy to be sentimental one way or the other about Swift. Despite the work of a large company of scholars who in our own day have been most fruitfully concerned with his importance as statesman, thinker, and writer, there yet remains among less searching readers a certain horror of the man.

Many reasons can be assigned for the diversity of judgments upon him, as for the warmth of feeling that sometimes accompanies them. Much of the confusion arises from the very nature of satire. The concern of the satirist must be with the actualities of life. He may approach them obliquely himself, and yet he must push his reader's nose hard up against them in their diseased and perhaps exaggerated forms. If the enemies of the satirist are vice and folly, the permanent obstacle to his success as a reformer is human complacency. Humour, Swift allowed, when writing of Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, "is certainly the best ingredient toward that kind of satire, which is most useful, and gives the least offence; which instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies, and vices." He has abundance of humour himself, particularly in his verses and in *Gulliver's Travels*, and the laughter he produces is not always of a wry kind.) In practice, however, and when he was purposefully



out "to mend the world," as he was so often, he found that humour alone could not shift the bastions of folly or stir the still waters of complacency. (His endeavour then was to vex his readers, not to divert them, and his method most often was to shock them on the sudden and to force in them a recoil from the object of his calmly ironic consideration.

Such procedures have their dangers for the satirist, and Swift has not escaped them. In the first place he may alienate the sympathy of the reader, an inquisitive but timid creature. Again, irony is an uncomfortable tool, too tricky for many people to handle or appreciate, and the reader may, mistaking the direction of the satirist's cleverness, identify him with the unpleasant things he exposes.) It happened thus to Swift early in his career over *A Tale of a Tub*, and it cost him a bishopric at least. It happens to him still among readers of his *Modest Proposal* whose stomachs turn at his suggestion of fattening the children of the poor for the tables of their betters, and among those who are nauseated by his scatological references. These and other notorious passages are taken out of their contexts of irony and all too well remembered in an isolation where they appear only disgusting.

(Swift too often disturbs his reader, whose support he should enlist, more than the subjects of his satire.) The reason may be that he took too little account of the instinct of self-protection. "Human kind cannot bear very much reality." We fear the clear sight of the man like Swift who habitually shows us more than we wish to see (and strips away all the pretences which, by covering the horrors of life, make it just bearable.) Our defensive reaction is often to project upon him our own perversities and unacknowledged guilt.

(For some or all of these reasons Swift has often appeared a perverse hater of life. Concentrating attention on the irony, Dr Leavis finds in his work chiefly "the spectacle of creative powers . . . exhibited consistently in negation and rejection,"

and concludes that his intensity as a writer was purely destructive.<sup>1</sup> It is a judgment that underrates Swift's challenge to the evil things in his age and the positive counsels of good that he opposed to them.)

Other readers are unduly affected by aspects of his life about which our evidence is inconclusive: the nature of his more intimate relations with Esther Johnson (his accomplished and much loved Stella) and with Esther Vanhomrigh, his other *protégée*, who seems to have conceived for him a passion that he did not wish or dare to reciprocate. Others again see the shadow of his ultimate madness cast back along the whole stream of his life to darken his sanest thoughts, and explain by this, or by his supposed sexual impotence, his habitual attempts to repress the powerful emotions that were natural to him. (Even the circumstances of his birth as a posthumous child and the events of his infancy when he was separated from his mother have been cited as the origin of a lifelong sense of insecurity.)

It is not to our purpose to speak further of these matters here. Swift's complex personality and the constant restraints that he placed upon his proud and passionate nature stand in our way if we seek to know the last secrets of his being. His inner spirit baffles even as it fascinates us. He was clearly a great man, and he was an unhappy man. Our concern here has been with the quality of his insight into the life of his age, for it was in the world of men and affairs that Swift established his claim to admiration; it is here that we find the key to his greatness. This great satirist can hold us still, not by literary brilliance alone, but by the depth of experience and the positive grasp of the nature of truth, honesty, and goodness that underlie all he wrote.)

<sup>1</sup> F. R. Leavis, "The Irony of Swift," reprinted in *The Common Pursuit* (Chatto and Windus, 1952), p. 86.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1660. Restoration of Stuarts and Episcopacy.  
1667. November 30: Swift born in Dublin of English parents.  
1672. Declaration of Indulgence.  
1673. Test Act.  
c. 1673-82. At Kilkenny School.  
1682. April 24: Entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner.  
1686. February: Graduated B.A. *speciali gratiâ*.  
1688. Fall of James II. Troubles in Ireland. Swift joins his mother in Leicester.  
1689. June: Entered Sir William Temple's household. Accession of William and Mary. Bill of Rights and Toleration Act.  
1690. May: Returned to Ireland. Battle of the Boyne and Protestant conquest of Ireland.  
1691. August: Rejoined Temple at Moor Park. Early poems.  
1692. July 5: M.A. of Oxford.  
1694. May: Returned to Ireland. October: Ordained deacon.  
1695. January: Ordained priest and appointed to the prebend of Kilroot, near Belfast.  
1696. May: Began third residence with Temple at Moor Park.  
1696-98. *The Battle of the Books* and *A Tale of a Tub* written (published 1704).  
1699. July: Chaplain to Lord Berkeley, Lord Justice of Ireland.  
1700. February: Appointed vicar of Laracor, etc.  
1701. Act of Settlement. February: Swift D.D. of Dublin University. April: Returned to England with Lord Berkeley. *Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome*. Taken up by Whigs. Esther Johnson (Stella) settled in Ireland. September: Returned to Ireland.  
1702. Accession of Queen Anne.  
1702-8. Marlborough and Godolphin in power.  
1702-13. War of the Spanish Succession.

1702. April–November: In England.
1703. November 1703–May 1704: Again in England.
1704. Battle of Blenheim. June 1704–November 1707: In Ireland.
1707. Act of Union. November 1707–June 1709: In England seeking remission of first-fruits and twentieths for Irish clergy. Recognized as wit and man of letters. *Letter on the Sacramental Test, Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (? 1704), *Argument against Abolishing Christianity, Project for the Advancement of Religion*. Ridiculed Partridge the astrologer.
- 1708–10. Whig Ministry.
1709. July: Returned to Laracor.
1710. September 7: Returned to London. Journal to Stella. October: Introduced to Harley. *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod* and *A Short Character of the Earl of Wharton*.
- 1710–14. Tory Ministry. November 2, 1710–June 7, 1711: Wrote for *Examiner* in support of Tories.
1711. February 27: *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*. November 27: *The Conduct of the Allies*. December: Marlborough dismissed.
1712. February: *A Proposal for Correcting the English Tongue*. *Letter to the October Club*. Began *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*. August: Peace negotiations begun.
1713. April: Treaty of Utrecht. June 13: Installed Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin. September 9: Back in London, trying to reconcile Oxford and Bolingbroke. *Cadenus and Vanessa*.
1714. *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*. The Scriblerus Club. June: Retired to Letcombe, Berkshire. August 1: Death of Anne and collapse of Tories. September: Returned to Ireland.
- 1714–19. Exile in Ireland as Dean of St Patrick's. Irish hostility.
1716. Possibly married Stella.
1720. South Sea Bubble. Came forward as Ireland's champion. *A Letter to a Young Gentleman*. *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*.
1721. Walpole Prime Minister. Began *Gulliver's Travels*.
1722. Patent for copper coinage in Ireland granted to Wood.
1724. March–December: First five *Drapier's Letters*.
1725. August: Withdrawal of Wood's Patent. Finished *Gulliver's Travels*.



1726. March 19–August 15: In London; visited Pope. October 28: *Gulliver's Travels* published.
1727. April–September: Last visit to England. June 24: *Miscellanies In Prose and Verse* (two volumes) of Pope and Swift.
1728. January 28: Death of Stella. *A Short View of the State of Ireland*. March 7: *Miscellanies. The Last (Third) Volume*. June 1728–February 1729: Guest of Sir Arthur Acheson at Market Hill.
1729. Freeman of Dublin. *A Modest Proposal*.
1730. *A Libel on Doctor Delany and a Certain Great Lord*.
1731. *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift* (published 1739). At work on *Polite Conversation* (published 1738) and *Directions to Servants* (published 1745).
1732. Attacked the Irish bishops and the Presbyterians. October 4: *Miscellanies. The Third (Fourth) Volume*.
1733. *On Poetry, A Rapsody*, attacking Walpole and the Court.
1735. *The Works of J.S, D.D, D.S.P.D. in Four Volumes*, first collected edition, published by Faulkner in Dublin. *Miscellanies, In Prose and Verse. Volume the Fifth*.
1736. Attacked Irish House of Commons in *The Legion Club*.
- c. 1738. Health gave way.
1742. Found to be unsound in mind and memory. Fall of Walpole.
1745. October 19: Died. October 22: Buried in St Patrick's Cathedral.

## THE TEXT

THE majority of pieces in this volume are reprinted from the first collected edition of Swift's writings, *The Works of J.S. D.D., D.S.P.D. in Four Volumes* (Dublin, 1734-35). This was assembled, arranged, and printed by George Faulkner, the Dublin bookseller and printer. Other volumes were steadily added, up to a total of twenty by 1772.

It is only in recent years that Faulkner's text has been cleared of the aspersions of the rival English booksellers and editors of the eighteenth century and its authority recognized. Though Swift professed indifference and even vexation about Faulkner's venture, there is much evidence to show that he trusted him and took more than a casual interest in six of the seven volumes issued during his lifetime. Faulkner's claim that Swift read and revised the proof sheets of all seven is undoubtedly excessive. Nevertheless, Swift did see many of them, and had them read over to him, making numerous alterations, sometimes to correct the style, more often to make his meaning inescapably clear, occasionally to insert his more considered opinions.

Faulkner's edition therefore gives on the whole the best text; and not only because of Swift's share in it, but because it was more carefully printed and supervised than the more casual forms, such as pamphlets, in which some of Swift's writings first appeared. It is not suggested, of course, that Swift was responsible for the spelling, punctuation, and typography used by Faulkner. These features, though somewhat over-formal, have the advantage for the modern reader of uniformity. The footnotes added by Faulkner, some of them certainly supplied by Swift, are here transferred to the end of the volume, where they are quoted among the other annotations. For the present edition Faulkner's text has been collated with the earliest editions, though it has been thought fit to draw attention



only to the most striking variants. They will be found in their place among the annotations.

The remaining pieces, those not appearing in the first six volumes of Faulkner, have mostly been reprinted from the first editions, one of them from Swift's manuscript. The source of each is given in the notes.

All the pieces are unabridged, except *The Conduct of the Allies*, from which two extracts are given. One complete chapter is given from *Directions to Servants*.

# MANNERS AND MORALITY

## A DESCRIPTION OF THE MORNING

NOW hardly here and there an Hackney-Coach  
Appearing, show'd the ruddy Morn's Approach.  
Now *Betty* from her Master's Bed had flown,  
And softly stole to discompose her own.  
The Slip-shod 'Prentice from his Master's Door,  
Had par'd the Dirt, and Sprinkled round the Floor.  
Now *Moll* had whirl'd her Mop with dex'trous Airs,  
Prepar'd to scrub the Entry and the Stairs.  
The Youth with broomy Stumps began to trace  
The Kennel-Edge, where Wheels had worn the Place.  
The Small-coal Man was heard with Cadence deep;  
Till drown'd in shriller Notes of *Chimney-Sweep*.  
Duns at his Lordship's Gate began to meet;  
And Brick-dust *Moll* had scream'd thro' half a Street.  
The Turn-key now his Flock returning sees,  
Duly let out a-nights to steal for Fees.  
The watchful Bailiffs take their silent Stands;  
And School-Boys lag with Satchels in their Hands.

## A DESCRIPTION OF A CITY SHOWER

CAREFUL Observers may fortel the Hour  
(By sure Prognosticks) when to dread a Show'r:  
While Rain depends, the pensive Cat gives o'er  
Her Frolicks, and pursues her Tail no more.  
Returning Home at Night you find the Sink



Strike your offended Sense with double Stink.  
 If you be wise, then go not far to dine,  
 You spend in Coach-hire more than save in Wine.  
 A coming Show'r your shooting Corns presage;  
 Old Aches throb, your hollow Tooth will rage:  
 Saunt'ring in Coffee-House is *Dulman* seen;  
 He damns the Climate, and complains of *Spleen*.

MEAN while the South, rising with dabbled Wings,  
 A sable Cloud a-thwart the Welkin flings;  
 That swill'd more Liquor than it could contain,  
 And like a Drunkard gives it up again.  
 Brisk *Susan* whips her Linnen from the Rope,  
 While the first drizzling Show'r is born aslope:  
 Such is that sprinkling which some careless Quean  
 Flirts on you from her Mop; but not so clean:  
 You fly, invoke the Gods; then turning, stop  
 To rail; she singing, still whirls on her Mop.  
 Nor yet the Dust had shun'd th' unequal Strife,  
 But aided by the Wind, fought still for Life;  
 And wafted with its Foe by violent Gust,  
 'Twas doubtful which was Rain, and which was Dust.  
 Ah! where must needy Poet seek for Aid,  
 When Dust and Rain at once his Coat invade?  
 Sole Coat, where Dust cemented by the Rain  
 Erects the Nap, and leaves a cloudy Stain.

Now, in contiguous Drops the Flood comes down  
 Threat'ning with Deluge this *devoted* Town.  
 To Shops in Crouds the daggled Females fly,  
 Pretend to cheapen Goods; but nothing buy.  
 The Templer spruce, while ev'ry Spout's abroach,  
 Stays till 'tis fair, yet *seems* to call a Coach.  
 The tuck'd-up Sempstress walks with hasty Strides,

While Streams run down her oil'd Umbrella's Sides.  
 Here various Kinds by various Fortunes led,  
 Commence Acquaintance underneath a Shed:  
 Triumphant Tories, and desponding Whigs,  
 Forget their Feuds, and join to save their Wigs.  
 Box'd in a Chair the Beau impatient sits,  
 While Spouts run clatt'ring o'er the Roof by Fits;  
 And ever and anon with frightful Din  
 The Leather sounds; he trembles from within.  
 So when *Troy* Chair-Men bore the wooden Steed,  
 Pregnant with *Greeks*, impatient to be freed;  
 (Those Bully *Greeks*, who, as the Moderns do,  
 Instead of paying Chair-Men, run them thro')  
*Laocoon* struck the Out-side with his Spear,  
 And each imprison'd Hero quak'd for Fear.

Now from all Parts the swelling Kennels flow,  
 And bear their Trophies with them as they go:  
 Filths of all Hues and Odours, seem to tell  
 What Streets they sail'd from, by the Sight and Smell.  
 They, as each Torrent drives with rapid Force  
 From *Smithfield*, or *St. Pulchre's* shape their Course;  
 And in huge Confluent join at *Snowhill* Ridge,  
 Fall from the *Conduit* prone to *Holbourn-Bridge*.  
 Sweepings from Butchers Stalls, Dung, Guts, and Blood,  
 Drown'd Puppies, stinking Sprats, all drench'd in Mud,  
 Dead Cats, and Turnip-Tops come tumbling down the Flood. }



## UPON THE SOUTH-SEA PROJECT

YE wise Philosophers! Explain,  
 What Magick makes our Money rise,  
 When dropt into the *Southern* Main;  
 Or do these Jugglers cheat our Eyes?

Put in your Money fairly told;  
*Presto* be gone—'Tis here agen:  
 Ladies and Gentlemen, behold,  
 Here's ev'ry Piece as big as Ten.

Thus in a Basin drop a Shilling,  
 Then fill the Vessel to the Brim;  
 You shall observe, as you are filling,  
 The pond'rous Metal seems to swim.

It rises both in Bulk and Height,  
 Behold it swelling like a Sop!  
 The liquid Medium cheats your Sight;  
 Behold it mounted to the Top!

In Stock three Hundred Thousand Pounds;  
 I have in view a Lord's Estate;  
 My Manors all contiguous round;  
 A Coach and Six, and serv'd in Plate!

Thus the deluded Bankrupt raves;  
 Puts all upon a desp'rate Bet;  
 Then plunges in the *Southern* Waves,  
 Dipt over Head and Ears—in Debt.

So, by a Calenture misled,  
The Mariner with Rapture sees,  
On the smooth Ocean's azure Bed,  
Enamel'd Fields, and verdant Trees.

With eager Haste he longs to rove  
In that fantastick Scene, and thinks  
It must be some enchanted Grove;  
And *in* he leaps, and *down* he sinks.

Five Hundred Chariots just bespoke,  
Are sunk in these devouring Waves,  
The Horses drown'd, the Harness broke,  
And here the Owners find their Graves.

Like Pharaoh, by *Directors* led;  
They, with their *Spoils* went safe before;  
His Chariots, tumbling out the Dead,  
Lay shatter'd on the *Red-Sea* Shore.

Rais'd up on *Hope's* aspiring Plumes,  
The young Advent'rer o'er the Deep  
An Eagle's Flight and State assumes,  
And scorns the middle Way to keep.

On *Paper* Wings he takes his Flight,  
With *Wax* the *Father* bound them fast;  
The *Wax* is melted by the Height,  
And down the tow'ring Boy is cast.

A Moralist might here explain  
The Rashness of the *Cretan* Youth;  
Describe his Fall into the Main,  
And from a Fable form a Truth.



His *Wings* are his *paternal Rent*,  
He melts the *Wax* at ev'ry Flame;  
His Credit sunk, his Money spent,  
*In Southern Seas he leaves his Name.*

Inform us, you that best can tell,  
Why in yon dang'rous Gulph profound,  
Where Hundreds, and where Thousands fell,  
*Fools* chiefly float, the *Wise* are drown'd?

So have I seen from *Severn's* Brink  
A Flock of *Geese* jump down together;  
Swim where the Bird of *Jove* would sink,  
And swimming never wet a Feather.

One Fool may from another win,  
And then get off with Money stor'd;  
But if a *Sharper* once comes in,  
He throws at all, and sweeps the Board.

As Fishes on each other prey,  
The great Ones swallowing up the small;  
So fares it in the *Southern* Sea;  
But Whale *Directors* eat up all.

When *Stock* is high, they come between,  
Making by second-hand their Offers;  
Then cunningly retire unseen,  
With each a Million in his Coffers.

So when upon a Moon-shine Night,  
An Ass was drinking at a Stream;  
A Cloud arose, and stopt the Light,  
By intercepting ev'ry Beam:

The Day of Judgment will be soon,  
    (Cries out a Sage among the Croud;)  
An Ass hath swallow'd up the Moon:  
    The Moon lay safe behind a Cloud.

Each poor *Subscriber* to the Sea,  
    Sinks down at once, and there he lies;  
*Directors* fall as well as they,  
    Their Fall is but a Trick to rise.

So Fishes rising from the Main,  
    Can soar with moisten'd Wings on high;  
The Moisture dry'd, they sink again,  
    And dip their Fins again to fly.

Undone at Play, the Female Troops  
    Come here their Losses to retrieve;  
Ride o'er the Waves in spacious Hoops,  
    Like *Lapland* Witches in a Sieve.

Thus *Venus* to the Sea descends,  
    As Poets feign; but where's the Moral?  
It shews the Queen of Love intends  
    To search the Deep for Pearl and Coral.

The Sea is richer than the Land,  
    I heard it from my Grannam's Mouth,  
Which now I clearly understand,  
    For by the Sea she meant the *South*.

Thus by *Directors* we are told,  
    Pray, Gentlemen, believe your Eyes;  
Our Ocean's cover'd o'er with Gold,  
    Look round, and see how thick it lies!



Oh! would those Patriots be so kind,  
 Here in the Deep to *wash their Hands*,  
 Then, like *Pactolus*, we should find  
 The Sea indeed had *golden Sands*.

A Shilling in the *Bath* you fling,  
 The Silver takes a nobler Hue,  
 By Magick Virtue in the Spring,  
 And seems a Guinea to your View.

But, as a Guinea will not pass  
 At Market for a Farthing more,  
 Shewn thro' a multiplying Glass,  
 Than what it always did before.

So cast it in the *Southern Seas*,  
 And view it through a *Jobber's Bill*;  
 Put on what Spectacles you please,  
 Your Guinea's but a Guinea still.

One Night a Fool into a Brook,  
 Thus from a Hillock looking down,  
 The *golden Stars* for Guineas took,  
 And *Silver Cynthia* for a Crown.

The Point he could no longer doubt,  
 He ran, he leapt into the Flood;  
 There sprawl'd a while, and scarce got out,  
 All cover'd o'er with Slime and Mud.

*Upon the Water cast thy Bread,*  
*And after many Days thou'lt find it;*  
 But Gold upon this Ocean spread,  
 Shall sink, and leave no Mark behind it.

There is a Gulph where Thousands fell,  
Here all the bold Advent'urers came,  
A narrow Sound, though deep as Hell;  
'*Change-Alley* is the dreadful Name.

Nine Times a Day it ebbs and flows,  
Yet he that on the Surface lies,  
Without a Pilot seldom knows  
The Time it falls, or when 'twill rise.

Subscribers here by Thousands float;  
And jostle one another down;  
Each padding in his leaky Boat,  
And here they fish for Gold, and drown.

*Now bury'd in the Depth below,  
Now mounted up to Heaven agen,  
They reel and stagger to and fro,  
At their Wits End, like drunken Men.*

Mean time, secure on Garr'way Cliffs,  
A Savage Race by Shipwrecks fed,  
Lie waiting for the founder'd Skiffs,  
And strip the Bodies of the Dead.

But these, you say, are factious Lyes,  
From some malicious *Tory's* Brain;  
For, where *Directors* get a Prize,  
The *Swiss* and *Dutch* whole Millions drain.

Thus, when by Rooks a Lord is ply'd,  
Some Cully often wins a Bet,  
By vent'ring on the cheating Side,  
Tho' not into the Secret let.



While some build Castles in the Air,  
*Directors* build 'em in the Seas;  
*Subscribers* plainly see 'em there,  
 For Fools will see as Wise men please.

Thus oft by Mariners are shown,  
 (Unless the Men of *Kent* be Lyars,)  
 Earl *Godwin's* Castles overflown,  
 And Palace-Roofs, and Steeple-Spires.

Mark where the sly *Directors* creep,  
 Nor to the Shore approach too nigh!  
 The Monsters nestle in the Deep,  
 To seize you in your passing by.

Then, like the Dogs of *Nile*, be wise,  
 Who taught by Instinct how to shun  
 The Crocodile, that lurking lies,  
 Run as they drink, and drink and run.

*Antæus* could, by Magick Charms,  
 Recover Strength whene'er he fell;  
*Alcides* held him in his Arms,  
 And sent him *up in Air* to Hell.

*Directors* thrown into the Sea  
 Recover Strength and Vigour there;  
 But may be tam'd another Way,  
*Suspended* for a while in *Air*.

*Directors!* for 'tis you I warn,  
 By long Experience we have found  
 What Planet rul'd when you were born;  
 We see you never can be drown'd.

Beware, nor over-bulky grow,  
Nor come within your Cully's Reach;  
For if the Sea shou'd sink so low,  
To leave you dry upon the Beach;

You'll owe your Ruin to your Bulk:  
Your Foes already waiting stand,  
To tear you like a founder'd Hulk,  
While you lie helpless on the Sand.

Thus when a Whale hath lost the Tide,  
The Coasters crowd to seize the Spoil;  
The Monster into Parts divide,  
And strip the Bones, and melt the Oil.

Oh! may some *Western* Tempest sweep  
These *Locusts* whom our Fruits have fed,  
That Plague, *Directors*, to the Deep,  
Driv'n from the *South-Sea* to the *Red*.

May He, whom Nature's Laws obey;  
Who *lifts* the Poor, and *sinks* the Proud,  
*Quiet the Raging of the Sea,*  
And *still the Madness of the Crowd*.

But never shall our Isle have Rest,  
Till those devouring *Swine* run down,  
(*The Devil's leaving the Possess,*)  
And *headlong* in the *Waters* drown.

The Nation then too late will find,  
Computing all their Cost and Trouble,  
*Directors* Promises but Wind,  
*South-Sea* at best a mighty *Bubble*.



*Apparent rari nantes in Gurgite vasto,  
Arma virûm, tabulæque, & Troïa gaza per undas.*

VIRG.

THE  
FURNITURE OF A WOMAN'S MIND

A SET of Phrases learn't by Rote;  
A Passion for a Scarlet-Coat;  
When at a Play to laugh, or cry,  
Yet cannot tell the Reason why:  
Never to hold her Tongue a Minute;  
While all she prates has nothing in it.  
Whole Hours can with a Coxcomb sit,  
And take his Nonsense all for Wit:  
Her Learning mounts to read a Song,  
But, half the Words pronouncing wrong;  
Has ev'ry Repartee in Store,  
She spoke ten Thousand Times before.  
Can ready Compliments supply  
On all Occasions, cut and dry.  
Such Hatred to a Parson's Gown,  
The Sight will put her in a Swown.  
For Conversation well endu'd;  
She calls it witty to be rude;  
And, placing Raillery in Railing,  
Will tell aloud your greatest Failing;  
Nor makes a Scruple to expose  
Your bandy Leg, or crooked Nose.  
Can, at her Morning Tea, run o'er  
The Scandal of the Day before.  
Improving hourly in her Skill,  
To cheat and wrangle at Quadrille.

IN chusing Lace a Critick nice,  
Knows to a Groat the lowest Price;  
Can in her Female Clubs dispute  
What Lining best the Silk will suit;  
What Colours each Complexion match:  
And where with Art to place a Patch.

IF chance a Mouse creeps in her Sight,  
Can finely counterfeit a Fright;  
So, sweetly screams if it comes near her,  
She ravishes all Hearts to hear her.  
Can dext'rously her Husband teize,  
By taking Fits whene'er she please:  
By frequent Practice learns the Trick  
At proper Seasons to be sick;  
Thinks nothing gives one Airs so pretty;  
At once creating Love and Pity.  
If *Molly* happens to be careless,  
And but neglects to warm her Hair-Lace,  
She gets a Cold as sure as Death;  
And vows she scarce can fetch her Breath.  
Admires how modest Women can  
Be so *robustious* like a Man.

IN Party, furious to her Power;  
A bitter Whig, or Tory sow'r;  
Her Arguments directly tend  
Against the Side she would defend:  
Will prove her self a Tory plain,  
From Principles the Whigs maintain;  
And, to defend the Whiggish Cause,  
Her Topicks from the Tories draws.



O YES! If any Man can find  
More virtues in a Woman's Mind,  
Let them be sent to Mrs. *Harding*;  
She'll pay the Charges to a Farthing:  
Take Notice, she has my Commission  
To add them in the next Edition;  
They may out-sell a better Thing;  
So, Holla Boys; God save the King.

### A TREATISE *on* GOOD-MANNERS *and* GOOD-BREEDING

GOOD-Manners is the Art of making those people easy  
with whom we converse.

Whoever makes the fewest persons uneasy is the best bred in the company.

As the best law is founded upon reason, so are the best manners. And as some lawyers have introduced unreasonable things into common law; so likewise many teachers have introduced absurd things into common good-manners.

One principal point of this art is to suit our behaviour to the three several degrees of men; our superiors, our equals, and those below us.

For instance, to press either of the two former to eat or drink is a breach of manners; but a farmer or a tradesman must be thus treated, or else it will be difficult to persuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of sense, are the three great sources of ill-manners; without some one of these defects, no man will behave himself ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called, knowing the world.

I defy any one to assign an incident wherein reason will not direct us what we are to say or to do in company, if we are not misled by pride or ill-nature.

Therefore I insist that good sense is the principal foundation of good manners: but because the former is a gift which very few among mankind are possessed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing some rules for common behaviour, best suited to their general customs, or fancies, as a kind of artificial good sense to supply the defects of reason. Without which, the *gentlemenly* part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they seldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in squabbles about women, or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happens a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of those three motives. Upon which account, I should be exceedingly sorry to find the legislature make any new laws against the practice of duelling; because the methods are easy, and many, for a wise man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can discover no political evil in suffering bullies, sharpers, and rakes, to rid the world of each other by a method of their own; where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good-manners were intended for regulating the conduct of those who have weak understandings; so they have been corrupted by the persons for whose use they were contrived. For these people have fallen into a needless and endless way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troublesom to those who practise them; and insupportable to every body else: insomuch that wise men are often more uneasy at the over civility of these refiners, than they could possibly be in the conversations, of peasants or mechanicks.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour are no where better seen than at those tables, where ladies preside; who value themselves upon account of their good-breeding; where a man must reckon upon passing an hour without doing any one thing he has a mind to; unless he will be so hardy to break thorough all the settled decorum of the family. She



determines what he loves best, and how much he shall eat; and if the master of the house happens to be of the same disposition, he proceeds in the same tyrannical manner to prescribe in the drinking part: at the same time, you are under the necessity of answering a thousand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the best fashion, yet too much of it still remains, especially in the Country. Where an honest gentleman assured me, that having been kept four days, against his will, at a friend's house, with all the circumstances of hiding his boots, locking up the stable, and other contrivances of the like nature; he could not remember from the moment he came into the house, to the moment he left it, any one thing, wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted: as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate proselytes to ceremony. I have seen a dutchess fairly knock'd down by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember, upon a birth-day, at court, a great Lady was utterly desperate by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress, and brocade; while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person who sat next her. Monsieur Buys, the *Dutch* Envoy, whose politicks and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy, and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in the company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last, their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that being china, they broke in twenty pieces; and stained half the company with wet sweet meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle in itself, the pedantry is the greater. For which reason, I look upon fiddlers, dancing-masters, heralds, masters of the ceremony, *Etc.* to be greater pedants, than LIPSIUS, or the elder SCALIGER. With these kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked: I mean from the gentleman-usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the gentleman-porter: who are generally speaking, the most insignificant race of people, that this island can afford, and with the smallest tincture of good-manners; which is the only trade they profess. For being wholly illiterate, and conversing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole system of breeding within the forms and circles of their several offices: and as they are below the notice of ministers, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obsequiousness to those who are in any degree of favour or credit: and with rudeness or insolence to every body else. From whence I have long concluded, that good-manners are not a plant of the court growth; for if they were, those people who have understandings directly of a level for such acquirements, and who have served such long apprenticeships to nothing else, would certainly have picked them up. For as to the great officers who attend the prince's person or councils, or preside in his family, they are a transient body, who have no better a title to good-manners, than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourse to gentlemen-ushers for instruction. So that I know little to be learnt at court upon this head, except in the material circumstance of dress; wherein the authority of the maids of honour must indeed be allowed, to be almost equal to that of a favourite actress.

I remember a passage my Lord BOLINGBROKE told me, that going to receive Prince EUGENE of *Savoy* at his landing, in



order to conduct him immediately to the Queen; the Prince said, he was much concerned that he could not see her Majesty that night; for Monsieur HOFMAN (who was then by) had assured his highness, that he could not be admitted into her presence with a tied-up periwig: that his equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My Lord turned the matter to a jest, and brought the Prince to her Majesty: for which he was highly censured by the whole tribe of gentlemen-ushers: among whom Monsieur HOFMAN, an old dull resident of the Emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the best lesson he had learned in five and twenty years residence.

I make a difference between good-manners, and good-breeding; although in order to vary my expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the art of remembering, and applying certain settled forms of general behaviour. But good-breeding is of a much larger extent; for besides an uncommon degree of literature sufficient to qualify a gentleman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it takes in a great compass of knowledge; no less than that of dancing, fighting, gameing, making the circle of *Italy*, riding the great horse, and speaking *French*; not to mention some other secondary, or subaltern accomplishments, which are more easily acquired: so that the difference between good-breeding, and good-manners, lies in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the best understandings, without study and labour: whereas a tolerable degree of reason will instruct us in every part of good-manners, without other assistance.

I can think of nothing more useful upon this subject, than to point out some particulars, wherein the very essentials of good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which, doth very much disturb the good commerce of the world; by introducing a traffic of mutual uneasiness in most companies.

First, a necessary part of good-manners, is a punctual observance of time at our own dwellings, or those of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, business, or diversion; which rule, tho' it be a plain dictate of common reason, yet the greatest minister I ever knew, was the greatest trespasser against it; by which all his business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him, as deficient in point of good-manners. I have known more than one ambassador, and secretary of state, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with good success and applause by the mere force of exactness, and regularity. If you duly observe time for the service of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifest folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it. If both are concerned, to make your equal or inferior attend on you, to his own disadvantage, is pride and injustice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be stiled ill-manners; because forms are subject to frequent changes; and consequently, being not founded upon reason, are beneath a wise man's regard. Besides, they vary in every country; and after a short period of time, very frequently in the same. So that a man who travels must needs be at first a stranger to them in every court, through which he passes. And perhaps at his return, as much a stranger in his own; and after all, they are easier to be remembered, or forgotten, than faces, or names.

Indeed among the many impertinencies that superficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more prominent than the rest. Who look upon them, not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance, and therefore zealous upon all occasions to introduce, and propagate the new forms and fashions they have brought back with them. So that usually speaking, the worst bred person in the company, is a young traveller just returned from abroad.



## DIRECTIONS TO SERVANTS

### CHAP. III

#### *Directions to the FOOTMAN*

**Y**OUR Employment, being of a mixt Nature, extendeth to a great Variety of Business, and you stand in a fair way of being the Favourite of your Master or Mistress, or of the young Masters and Misses; you are the fine Gentleman of the Family, with whom all the Maids are in Love. You are sometimes a Pattern of Dress to your Master, and sometimes he is so to you. You wait at Table in all Companies, and consequently have the Opportunity to see and know the World, and to understand Men and Manners: I confess your Vails are but few, unless you are sent with a Present, or attend the Tea in the Country; but you are called Mr. in the Neighbourhood, and sometimes pick up a Fortune, perhaps your Master's Daughter; and I have known many of your Tribe to have good Commands in the Army. In Town you have a Seat reserved for you in the Play-house, where you have an Opportunity of becoming Wits and Criticks: You have no professed Enemy except the Rabble, and my Lady's Waiting-woman, who are sometimes apt to call you Skipkennel. I have a true Veneration for your Office, because I had once the Honour to be one of your Order, which I foolishly left by demeaning myself with accepting an Employment in the Custom-house.—But that you, my Brethren, may come to better Fortunes, I shall here deliver my Instructions, which have been the Fruits of much Thought and Observation, as well as of seven Years Experience.

In order to learn the Secrets of other Families, tell them those of your Master's; thus you will grow a Favourite both at home and abroad, and be regarded as a Person of Importance.

Never be seen in the Streets with a Basket or Bundle in your Hands, and carry nothing but what you can hide in your Pocket, otherwise you will disgrace your Calling: To prevent which, always retain a Blackguard Boy to carry your Loads; and if you want Farthings, pay him with a good Slice of Bread, or Scrap of Meat.

Let a Shoe-boy clean your own Shoes first, for fear of fouling the Chamber, then let him clean your Master's; keep him on purpose for that Use and to run of Errands, and pay him with Scraps. When you are sent on an Errand, be sure to edge in some Business of your own, either to see your Sweet-heart, or drink a Pot of Ale with some Brother-Servants, which is so much Time clear gained.

There is a great Controversy about the most convenient and genteel Way of holding your Plate at Meals; some stick it between the Frame and the Back of the Chair, which is an excellent Expedient, where the Make of the Chair will allow it: Others, for fear the Plate should fall, grasp it so firmly, that their Thumb reacheth to the Middle of the Hollow; which however, if your Thumb be dry, is no secure Method; and therefore in that Case, I advise your wetting the Bowl of it with your Tongue: As to that absurd Practice of letting the Back of the Plate lye leaning on the Hollow of your Hand, which some Ladies recommend, it is universally exploded, being liable to so many Accidents. Others again, are so refined, that they hold their Plate directly under the left Arm-pit, which is the best Situation for keeping it warm; but this may be dangerous in the Article of taking away a Dish, where your Plate may happen to fall upon some of the Company's Heads. I confess myself to have objected against all these Ways, which I have frequently tried; and therefore I recommend a Fourth, which is to stick your Plate up to the Rim inclusive, in the left Side between your Waistcoat and your Shirt: This will keep it at least as warm as under your Arm-pit, or Ockster, (as the *Scotch*



call it) this will hide it so, as Strangers may take you for a better Servant, too good to hold a Plate; this will secure it from falling; and thus disposed, it lieth ready for you to whip it out in a Moment, ready warmed, to any Guest within your Reach, who may want it: And lastly, there is another Convenience in this Method, that if any Time during your waiting, you find yourself going to cough or sneeze, you can immediately snatch out your Plate, and hold the hollow Part close to your Nose or Mouth, and thus prevent spirting any Moisture from either, upon the Dishes or the Ladies Head-dress: You see Gentlemen and Ladies observe a like Practice on such an Occasion, with a Hat or a Handkerchief; yet a plate is less fouled and sooner cleaned than either of these; for, when your Cough or Sneeze is over, it is but returning your Plate to the same Position, and your Shirt will clean it in the Passage.

Take off the largest Dishes, and set them on, with one Hand, to shew the Ladies your Vigour and Strength of Back; but always do it between two Ladies, that if the Dish happens to slip, the Soup or Sauce may fall on their Cloaths, and not daub the Floor: By this Practice, two of our Brethren, my worthy Friends, got considerable Fortunes.

Learn all the new-fashioned Words, and Oaths, and Songs, and Scraps of Plays that your Memory can hold. Thus, you will become the Delight of nine Ladies in ten, and the Envy of ninety nine Beaux in a hundred.

Take Care, that at certain Periods, during Dinner, especially, when Persons of Quality are there, you and your Brethren be all out of the Room together, by which you will give yourselves some Ease from the Fatigue of waiting, and at the same Time leave the Company to converse more freely, without being constrained by your Presence.

When you are sent on a Message, deliver it in your own Words, altho' it be to a Duke or Dutchess, and not in the Words of your Master or Lady; for how can they understand

what belongs to a Message as well as you, who have been bred to the Employment: But never deliver the Answer until it is called for, and then adorn it with your own Style.

When Dinner is done, carry down a great Heap of Plates to the Kitchen, and when you come to the Head of the Stairs, trundle them all before you: There is not a more agreeable Sight or Sound, especially if they be Silver; besides the Trouble they save you, and there they will lie ready near the Kitchen Door, for the Scullion to wash them.

If you are bringing up a Joint of Meat in a Dish, and it falleth out of your Hand, before you get into the Dining Room, with the Meat on the Ground, and the Sauce spilled, take up the Meat gently, wipe it with the Lap of your Coat, then put it again into the Dish, and serve it up; and when your Lady misses the Sauce, tell her, it is to be sent up in a Plate by itself.

When you carry up a Dish of Meat, dip your Fingers in the Sauce, or lick it with your Tongue, to try whether it be good, and fit for your Master's Table.

You are the best Judge of what Acquaintance your Lady ought to have, and therefore, if she sends you on a Message of Compliment or Business to a Family you do not like, deliver the Answer in such a Manner, as may breed a Quarrel between them not to be reconciled: Or, if a Footman comes from the same Family on the like Errand, turn the Answer she ordereth you to deliver, in such a Manner, as the other Family may take it for an Affront.

When you are in Lodgings, and no Shoe-boy to be got, clean your Master's Shoes with the Bottom of the Curtains, a clean Napkin, or your Landlady's Apron.

Ever wear your Hat in the House, but when your Master calleth; and as soon as you come into his Presence, pull it off to shew your Manners.

Never clean your Shoes on the Scraper, but in the Entry, or at the Foot of the Stairs, by which you will have the Credit of



being at home, almost a Minute sooner, and the Scraper will last the longer.

Never ask Leave to go abroad, for then it will be always known that you are absent, and you will be thought an idle rambling Fellow; whereas, if you go out, and no body observeth, you have a Chance of coming home without being missed, and you need not tell your Fellow-servants where you are gone, for they will be sure to say, you were in the House but two Minutes ago, which is the Duty of all Servants.

Snuff the Candles with your Fingers, and throw the Snuff on the Floor, then tread it out to prevent stinking: This Method will very much save the Snuffers from wearing out. You ought also to snuff them close to the Tallow, which will make them run, and so encrease the Perquisite of the Cook's Kitchen-Stuff; for she is the Person you ought in Prudence to be well with.

While Grace is saying after Meat, do you and your Brethren take the Chairs from behind the Company, so that when they go to sit again, they may fall backwards, which will make them all merry; but be you so discreet as to hold your Laughter till you get to the Kitchen, and then divert your Fellow-servants.

When you know your Master is most busy in Company, come in and pretend to fettle about the Room; and if he chideth, say, you thought he rung the Bell. This will divert him from plodding on Business too much, or spending himself in Talk, or racking his Thoughts, all which are hurtful to his Constitution.

If you are ordered to break the Claw of a Crab or a Lobster, clap it between the Sides of the Dining Room Door between the Hinges: Thus you can do it gradually without mashing the Meat, which is often the Fate of the Street-Door-Key, or the Pestle.

When you take a foul Plate from any of the Guests, and

observe the foul Knife and Fork lying on the Plate, shew your Dexterity, take up the Plate, and throw off the Knife and Fork on the Table, without shaking off the Bones or broken Meat that are left: Then the Guest, who hath more Time than you, will wipe the Fork and Knife already used.

When you carry a Glass of Liquor to any Person who hath called for it, do not bob him on the Shoulder, or cry, Sir, or Madam, here's the Glass, that would be unmannerly, as if you had a Mind to force it down one's Throat; but stand at the Person's right Shoulder, and wait his Time; and if he striketh it down with his Elbow by Forgetfulness, that was his Fault and not yours.

When your Mistress sendeth you for a Hackney Coach in a wet Day, come back in the Coach to save your Cloaths and the Trouble of walking; it is better the Bottom of her Pettycoats should be daggled with your dirty Shoes, than your Livery be spoiled, and yourself get a Cold.

There is no Indignity so great to one of your Station, as that of lighting your Master in the Streets with a Lanthorn; and therefore, it is very honest Policy to try all Arts how to evade it: Besides, it sheweth your Master to be either covetous or poor, which are the two worst Qualities you can meet with in any Service. When I was under these Circumstances, I made use of several wise Expedients, which I here recommend to you. Sometimes I took a Candle so long, that it reached to the very Top of the Lanthorn and burned it: But, my Master after a good Beating, ordered me to paste the Top with paper. I then used a middling Candle, but stuck it so loose in the Socket, that it leaned towards one Side, and burned a whole Quarter of the Horn. Then I used a Bit of Candle of half an Inch, which sunk in the Socket, and melted the Solder, and forced my Master to walk half the Way in the Dark. Then he made me stick two Inches of Candle in the Place where the Socket was; after which, I pretended to stumble, put out the Candle, and broke all the



Tin Part to Pieces: At last, he was forced to make use of a Lanthorn-boy out of perfect good Husbandry.

It is much to be lamented, that Gentlemen of our Employment have but two Hands to carry Plates, Dishes, Bottles, and the like, out of the Room at Meals; and the Misfortune is still the greater, because one of those Hands is required to open the Door, while you are encumbered with your Load: Therefore, I advise, that the Door may be always left at jarr, so as to open it with your Foot, and then you may carry out Plates and Dishes from your Belly up to your Chin, besides a good Quantity of Things under your Arms, which will save you many a weary Step; but take Care that none of the Burthen falls until you are out of the Room, and if possible, out of Hearing.

If you are sent to the Post-Office with a Letter in a cold rainy Night, step to the Ale-house and take a pot, until it is supposed you have done your Errand; but take the next fair Opportunity to put the Letter in carefully, as becometh an honest Servant.

If you are ordered to make Coffee for the Ladies after Dinner, and the Pot happeneth to boil over, while you are running up for a Spoon to stir it, or are thinking of something else, or struggling with the Chamber-maid for a Kiss, wipe the Sides of the Pot clean with a Dishclout, carry up your Coffee boldly, and when your Lady finds it too weak, and examines you whether it hath not run over; deny the Fact absolutely, swear you put in more Coffee than ordinary, that you never stirred an Inch from it, that you strove to make it better than usual, because your Mistress had Ladies with her, that the Servants in the Kitchen will justify what you say: Upon this, you will find that the other Ladies will pronounce your Coffee to be very good, and your Mistress will confess that her Mouth is out of Taste, and she will for the future suspect herself, and be more cautious in finding Fault. This I would have you do from a Principle of Conscience, for Coffee is very unwholesome; and out of Affection to your Lady, you ought to give it her as weak

as possible: And upon this Argument, when you have a Mind to treat any of the Maids with a Dish of fresh Coffee, you may, and ought to subtract a third Part of the Powder, on account of your Lady's Health, and getting her Maids Good-will.

If your Master sendeth you with a small trifling Present to one of his Friends, be as careful of it as you would be of a Diamond Ring: Therefore, if the Present be only Half a Dozen Pippins, send up the Servant who received the Message to say, that you were ordered to deliver them with your own Hands. This will shew your Exactness and Care to prevent Accidents or Mistakes; and the Gentleman or Lady cannot do less than give you a Shilling. So when your Master receives the like Present, teach the Messenger who bringeth it to do the same, and give your Master Hints that may stir up his Generosity; for Brother Servants should assist one another, since it is all for your Master's Honour, which is the chief Point to be consulted by every good Servant, and of which he is the best Judge.

When you step but a few Doors off to tattle with a Wench, or take a running Pot of Ale, or to see a Brother Footman going to be hanged, leave the Street Door open, that you may not be forced to knock, and your Master discover you are gone out; for a Quarter of an Hour's Time can do his Service no Injury.

When you take away the remaining Pieces of Bread after Dinner, put them on foul Plates, and press them down with other Plates over them, so as no body can touch them; and so, they will be a good Perquisite to the Blackguard Boy in ordinary.

When you are forced to clean your Master's Shoes with your own Hand, use the Edge of the sharpest Case Knife, and dry them with the Toes an Inch from the Fire, because wet Shoes are dangerous; and besides, by these Arts you will get them the sooner for yourself.

In some Families the Master often sendeth to the Tavern for a Bottle of Wine, and you are the Messenger: I advise you,



therefore, to take the smallest Bottle you can find; but however, make the Drawer give you a full Quart, then you will get a good Sup for yourself, and your Bottle will be filled. As for a Cork to stop it, you need be at no Trouble, for the Thumb will do as well, or a Bit of dirty chewed Paper.

In all Disputes with Chairmen and Coachmen, for demanding too much, when your Master sendeth you down to chaffer with them, take Pity of the poor Fellows, and tell your Master that they will not take a Farthing less: It is more for your Interest to get a Share of a Pot of Ale, than to save a Shilling for your Master, to whom it is a Trifle.

When you attend your Lady in a dark Night, if she useth her Coach, do not walk by the Coach Side, so as to tire and dirt yourself, but get up into your proper Place, behind it, and so hold the Flambeau sloping forward over the Coach Roof; and when it wants snuffing, dash it against the Corners.

When you leave your Lady at Church on *Sundays*, you have two Hours safe to spend with your Companions at the Ale-house, or over a Beef-Stake and a Pot of Beer at Home, with the Cook, and the Maids; and, indeed, poor Servants have so few Opportunities to be happy, that they ought not to lose any.

Never wear Socks when you wait at Meals, on the Account of your own Health, as well as of them who sit at Table; because, as most Ladies like the Smell of young Mens Toes, so it is a sovereign Remedy against the Vapours.

Chuse a Service, if you can, where your Livery Colours are least tawdry and distinguishing: Green and Yellow immediately betray your Office, and so do all Kinds of Lace, except Silver, which will hardly fall to your Share, unless with a Duke, or some Prodigal just come to his Estate. The Colours you ought to wish for, are Blue, or Filemot, turned up with Red; which with a borrowed Sword, a borrowed Air, your Master's Linen, and a natural and improved Confidence, will give you what Title you please, where you are not known.

When you carry Dishes or other Things out of the Room at Meals, fill both your Hands as full as possible; for, although you may sometimes spill, and sometimes let fall, yet you will find at the Year's End, you have made great Dispatch, and saved abundance of Time.

If your Master or Mistress happens to walk the Streets, keep on one Side, and as much on the Level with them as you can, which People observing, will either think you do not belong to them, or that you are one of their Companions; but, if either of them happen to turn back and speak to you, so that you are under the Necessity to take off your Hat, use but your Thumb and one Finger, and scratch your Head with the rest.

In Winter Time light the Dining-Room Fire but two Minutes before Dinner is served up, that your Master may see, how saving you are of his Coals.

When you are ordered to stir up the Fire, clean away the Ashes from between the Bars with the Fire-Brush.

When you are ordered to call a Coach, although it be Midnight, go no further than the Door, for Fear of being out of the Way when you are wanted; and there stand bawling, *Coach, Coach*, for half an Hour.

Although you Gentlemen in Livery have the Misfortune to be treated scurvily by all Mankind, yet you make a Shift to keep up your Spirits, and sometimes arrive at considerable Fortunes. I was an intimate Friend to one of our Brethren, who was Footman to a Court-Lady: She had an honourable Employment, was Sister to an Earl, and the Widow of a Man of Quality. She observed something so polite in my Friend, the Gracefulness with which he tript before her Chair, and put his Hair under his Hat, that she made him many Advances; and one Day taking the Air in her Coach with *Tom* behind it, the Coachman mistook the Way, and stopt at a privileged Chapel, where the Couple were married, and *Tom* came home in the Chariot by his Lady's Side: But he unfortunately taught her to drink



Brandy, of which she died, after having pawned all her Plate to purchase it, and *Tom* is now a Journeyman Maltster.

*Boucher*, the famous Gamester, was another of our Fraternity, and when he was worth 50,000 *l.* he dunned the Duke of *Buckingham* for an Arrear of Wages in his Service: And I could instance many more, particularly another, whose Son had one of the chief Employments at Court; and [it] is sufficient to give you the following Advice, which is to be pert and sawcy to all Mankind, especially to the Chaplain, the Waiting-woman, and the better Sort of Servants in a Person of Quality's Family, and value not now and then a Kicking, or a Caneing; for your Insolence will at last turn to good Account; and from wearing a Livery, you may probably soon carry a Pair of Colours.

When you wait behind a Chair at Meals, keep constantly wriggling the Back of the Chair, that the person behind whom you stand, may know you are ready to attend him.

When you carry a Parcel of China Plates, if they chance to fall, as it is a frequent Misfortune, your Excuse must be, that a Dog ran across you in the Hall; that the Chamber-maid accidentally pushed the Door against you; that a Mop stood across the Entry, and tript you up; that your Sleeve stuck against the Key, or Button of the Lock.

When your Master and Lady are talking together in the Bed-chamber, and you have some Suspicion that you or your Fellow-servants are concerned in what they say, listen at the Door, for the publick Good of all the Servants; and join all to take proper Measures for preventing any Innovations that may hurt the Community.

Be not proud in Prosperity: You have heard that Fortune turneth on a Wheel; if you have a good Place, you are at the Top of the Wheel. Remember how often you have been stripped and kicked out of Doors, your Wages all taken up beforehand, and spent in translated red-heeled Shoes, second-

hand Toupees, and repaired Lace Ruffles, besides a swingeing Debt to the Ale-wife and the Brandy-shop. The neighbouring Tapster, who before would beckon you over to a savoury Bit of Ox-cheek in the Morning, give it you *gratis*, and only score you up for the Liquor, immediately after you were packed off in Disgrace, carried a Petition to your Master, to be paid out of your Wages, whereof not a Farthing was due, and then pursued you with Bailiffs into every blind Cellar. Remember how soon you grew shabby, thread-bare, and out-at-heels; were forced to borrow an old Livery Coat, to make your Appearance, while you were looking for a Place; and sneak to every House where you have an old Acquaintance to steal you a Scrap, to keep Life and Soul together; and, upon the whole, were in the lowest Station of Human Life; which, as the old Ballad says, is that of a Skipkennel turned out of Place: I say, remember all this now in your flourishing Condition. Pay your Contributions duly to your late Brothers the Cadets, who are left to the wide World: Take one of them as your Dependant, to send on your Lady's Messages, when you have a Mind to go to the Ale-house; slip him out privately now and then a Slice of Bread, and a Bit of cold Meat, your Master can afford it; and if he be not yet put upon the Establishment for a Lodging, let him lye in the Stable, or the Coach-house, or under the Back-stairs, and recommend him to all the Gentlemen who frequent your House as an excellent Servant.

To grow old in the Office of a Footman, is the highest of all Indignities: Therefore, when you find Years coming on, without Hopes of a Place at Court, a Command in the Army, a Succession to the Stewardship, an Employment in the Revenue (which two last you cannot obtain without Reading and Writing) or running away with your Master's Niece or Daughter; I directly advise you to go upon the Road, which is the only Post of Honour left you: There you will meet many of your old Comrades, and live a short Life and a merry one,



and make a Figure at your *Exit*, wherein I will give you some Instructions.

The last Advice I give you, relateth to your Behaviour when you are going to be hanged; which, either for robbing your Master, for House-breaking, or going upon the High-way, or in a drunken Quarrel, by killing the first Man you meet, may very probably be your Lot, and is owing to one of these three Qualities, either a Love of good Fellowship, a Generosity of Mind, or too much Vivacity of Spirits. Your good Behaviour on this Article, will concern your whole Community [at your Tryal]. Deny the Fact with all Solemnity of Imprecations: A hundred of your Brethren, if they can be admitted, will attend about the Bar, and be ready upon Demand to give you a good Character before the Court: Let nothing prevail on you to confess, but the Promise of a Pardon for discovering your Comrades: But, I suppose all this to be in vain, for if you escape now, your Fate will be the same another Day. Get a Speech to be written by the best Author of *Newgate*: Some of your kind Wenches will provide you with a *Holland* Shirt, and white Cap crowned with a crimson or black Ribbon: Take Leave chearfully of all your Friends in *Newgate*: Mount the Cart with Courage: Fall on your Knees: Lift up your [Eyes]: Hold a Book in your Hands, although you cannot read a Word: Deny the Fact at the Gallows: Kiss and forgive the Hangman, and so Farewel: You shall be buried in Pomp at the Charge of the Fraternity: The Surgeon shall not touch a Limb of you; and your Fame shall continue until a Successor of equal Renown succeedeth in your Place.

# CHURCH AND STATE

THE  
SENTIMENTS  
OF A  
*Church-of-England* MAN,  
With Respect to  
RELIGION *and* GOVERNMENT.

WHOEVER hath examined the Conduct and Proceedings of both *Parties* for some Years past, whether in or out of Power, cannot well conceive it possible to go far towards the Extrems of either, without offering some Violence to his Integrity or Understanding. A wise and a good Man may indeed be sometimes induced to comply with a Number, whose Opinion he generally approves, although it be perhaps against his own. But this Liberty should be made use of upon very few Occasions, and those of small Importance, and then only with a View of bringing over his own Side another Time to something of greater and more publick Moment. But to sacrifice the Innocency of a Friend, the Good of our Country, or our own Conscience, to the Humour, or Passion, or Interest, of a Party; plainly shews that either our Heads or our Hearts are not as they should be: Yet this very Practice is the fundamental Law of each Faction among us; as may be obvious to any who will impartially, and without Engagement, be at the Pains to examine their Actions; which, however, is not so easy a Task: For it seems a Principle in human Nature, to incline one Way more than another, even in Matters where we are wholly uncon-



cerned. And it is a common Observation, that in reading a History of Facts done a Thousand Years ago; or standing by a Play among those who are perfect Strangers to us; we are apt to find our Hopes and Wishes engaged on a sudden in favour of one Side more than another. No Wonder then, that we are all so ready to interest our selves in the Course of publick Affairs; where the most inconsiderable have some real Share, and by the wonderful Importance which every Man is of to himself, a very great *imaginary* one.

AND indeed when the two Parties that divide the whole Commonwealth, come once to a Rupture, without any Hopes left of forming a Third with better Principles, to ballance the others; it seems every Man's Duty to chuse one of the two Sides, although he cannot entirely approve of either; and all Pretences to Neutrality are justly exploded by both; being too stale and obvious; only intending the Safety and Ease of a few Individuals, while the Publick is embroiled. This was the Opinion and Practice of the latter *Cato*, whom I esteem to have been the wisest and best of all the *Romans*. But before Things proceed to open Violence, the truest Service a private Man may hope to do his Country, is by unbiassing his Mind as much as possible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the Rival Powers; which must needs be owned a fair Proceeding with the World; Because, it is of all others the least consistent with the common Design of making a Fortune by the *Merit* of an *Opinion*.

I HAVE gone as far as I am able in qualifying my self to be such a Moderator: I believe, I am no *Bigot* in Religion; and I am sure, I am none in Government. I converse in full Freedom with many considerable Men of both Parties; and if not in equal Number, it is purely accidental and personal, as happening to be near the Court, and to have made Acquaintance there, more under one Ministry than another. Then, I am not under the Necessity of declaring my self by the Prospect of an Employ-

ment. And lastly, if all this be not sufficient, I industriously conceal my Name; which wholly exempts me from any Hopes and Fears in delivering my Opinion.

IN consequence of this free Use of my Reason, I cannot possibly think so well or so ill of either Party, as they would endeavour to persuade the World of each other, and of themselves. For Instance; I do not charge it upon the Body of the *Whigs*, or the *Tories*, that their several Principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, or a Commonwealth and arbitrary Power. For, why should any Party be accused of a Principle which they solemnly disown and protest against? But, to this they have a mutual Answer ready; they both assure us, that their Adversaries are not to be believed; that they disown their Principles out of Fear; which are manifest enough when we examine their Practices. To prove this, they will produce Instances, on one Side, either of avowed Presbyterians, or Persons of libertine and atheistical Tenets; and on the other of professed Papists, or such as are openly in the Interest of the abdicated Family. Now, it is very natural for all subordinate Sects and Denominations in a State, to side with some general Party, and to chuse that which they find to agree with themselves in some general Principle. Thus at the *Restoration*, the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independants, and other Sects, did all with very good Reason unite and solder up their several Schemes to join against the *Church*; who, without regard to their Distinctions, treated them all as equal Adversaries. Thus, our present Dissenters do very naturally close in with the Whigs, who profess *Moderation*, declare they abhor all Thoughts of *Persecution*, and think it hard, that those who differ only in a few *Ceremonies* and *Speculations*, should be denied the Privilege and Profit of Serving their Country in the highest Employments of State. Thus, the Atheists, Libertines, Despisers of Religion and Revelation in general; that is to say, all those who usually pass under the Name of *Free-Thinkers*,



do properly joyn with the same Body; because they likewise preach up *Moderation*, and are not so over nice to distinguish between an unlimited Liberty of Conscience, and an unlimited Freedom of Opinion. Then, on the other Side, the profest Firmness of the *Tories* for Episcopacy, as an Apostolical Institution: Their Aversion from those Sects who lie under the Reproach of having once destroyed their Constitution, and who they imagine, by too indiscreet a Zeal for Reformation, have defaced the primitive Model of the Church: Next, their Veneration for Monarchical Government in the common Course of Succession, and their Hatred to Republican Schemes. These, I say, are Principles which not only the nonjuring Zealots profess, but even Papists themselves fall readily in with. And every Extreme here mentioned, flings a general Scandal upon the whole Body it pretends to adhere to.

BUT surely no Man whatsoever ought in Justice or good Manners to be charged with Principles he actually disowns, unless his Practices do openly, and without the least Room for Doubt, contradict his Profession: Not upon small Surmises, or because he has the Misfortune to have ill Men sometimes agree with him in a few general Sentiments. However, although the Extrems of *Whig* and *Tory* seem with little Justice to have drawn Religion into their Controversies, wherein they have small Concern; yet they both have borrowed one leading Principle from the Abuse of it; which is, to have built their several Systems of political Faith, not upon Enquiries after Truth, but upon Opposition to each other, upon injurious Appellations, charging their Adversaries with horrid Opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of Charity; *Et neuter falso*.

IN order to remove these Prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual than to describe the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England Man* with respect to *Religion* and *Government*. This I shall endeavour to do in such a Manner as may be liable to the least Objection from either Party; and which I am

confident would be assented to by great Numbers in both, if they were not misled to those mutual Misrepresentations, by such Motives as they would be ashamed to own.

I SHALL begin with *Religion*.

AND here, although it makes an odd Sound, yet it is necessary to say, that whoever professeth himself a Member of the Church of *England*, ought to believe a God, and his Providence, together with revealed Religion, and the Divinity of *Christ*. For besides those many Thousands, who (to speak in the Phrase of Divines) do practically deny all this by the Immorality of their Lives; there is no small Number, who in their Conversation and Writings directly or by consequence endeavour to overthrow it: Yet all these place themselves in the List of the National Church; although at the same Time (as it is highly reasonable) they are great Sticklers for Liberty of Conscience.

To enter upon Particulars: A *Church-of-England Man* hath a true Veneration for the Scheme established among us of Ecclesiastical Government; and although he will not determine whether Episcopacy be of Divine Right, he is sure it is most agreeable to primitive Institution; fittest, of all others for preserving Order and Purity, and under its present Regulations, best calculated for our Civil State: He should therefore think the Abolishment of that Order among us, would prove a mighty Scandal, and Corruption to our Faith, and manifestly dangerous to our Monarchy; nay, he would defend it by Arms against all the Powers on Earth, except our own Legislature; in which Case, he would submit as to a general Calamity, a Dearth, or a Pestilence.

As to Rites and Ceremonies, and Forms of Prayer, he allows there might be some useful Alterations; and more, which in the Prospect of uniting Christians might be very supportable, as Things declared in their own Nature indifferent; to which he



therefore would readily comply, if the *Clergy*, or, (although this be not so fair a Method) if the *Legislature* should direct: Yet, at the same Time, he cannot altogether blame the former for their Unwillingness to consent to any Alteration; which, beside the Trouble, and perhaps Disgrace, would certainly never produce the good Effects intended by it. The only Condition that could make it prudent, and just for the Clergy to comply in altering the Ceremonial, or any other indifferent Part, would be a firm Resolution in the Legislature, to interpose by some strict and effectual Laws, to prevent the rising and spreading of new Sects, how plausible soever, for the future; else there must never be an End: And it would be to act like a Man, who should pull down and change the Ornaments of his House, in Compliance to every one who was disposed to find fault as he passed by; which, besides the perpetual Trouble and Expence, would very much damage, and perhaps in Time destroy the Building. Sects, in a State, seem only tolerated, with any Reason, because they are already spread; and because it would not be agreeable with so mild a Government, or so pure a Religion as ours, to use violent Methods against great Numbers of *mistaken* People, while they do not manifestly endanger the Constitution of either. But the greatest Advocates for general Liberty of Conscience, will allow that they ought to be checked in their Beginnings, if they will allow them to be an Evil at all; or, which is the same Thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the Peace of the State, that there should be none. But, while the Clergy consider the natural Temper of Mankind in general, or of our own Country in particular; what Assurances can they have, that any Compliances they shall make, will remove the Evil of Dissention, while the Liberty still continues of professing whatever new Opinions we please? Or, how can it be imagined, that the Body of Dissenting Teachers, who must be all undone by such a Revolution, will not cast about [for] some new Objections to

with-hold their Flocks, and draw in fresh Proselytes by some further Innovations or Refinements?

UPON these Reasons, He is for tolerating such different Forms in religious Worship, as are already admitted; but, by no Means, for leaving it in the Power of those who are tolerated, to advance their own Models upon the Ruin of what is already established; which it is natural for all Sects to desire, and which they cannot justify by any consistent Principles, if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot succeed in, without the utmost Danger to the publick Peace.

To prevent these Inconveniencies, He thinks it highly just, that all Rewards of Trust, Profit, or Dignity, which the State leaves in the Disposal of the Administration, should be given only to those, whose Principles direct them to preserve the Constitution in all its Parts. In the late Affair of *Occasional Conformity*, the general Argument of those who were against it, was not, to deny it an Evil in it self, but that the Remedy proposed was violent, untimely, and improper; which is the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Opinion, in the Speech he made and published against the Bill: But, however just their Fears, or Complaints might have been upon that Score, he thinks it a little too gross, and precipitate to employ their Writers already, in Arguments for repealing the *Sacramental Test*, upon no wiser a Maxim, than that no Man should, on the Account of Conscience, be deprived the Liberty of serving his Country; a Topick, which may be equally applied to admit *Papists, Atheists, Mahometans, Heathens, and Jews*. If the Church wants Members of its own, to employ in the Service of the Publick; or be so unhappily contrived, as to exclude from its Communion, such Persons who are likeliest to have great Abilities; it is time it should be altered, and reduced into some more perfect, or, at least, more popular Form: But, in the mean while, it is not altogether improbable, that when those, who dislike the Constitution, are so very zealous in their Offers for the Service of their



Country, they are not wholly unmindful of their Party, or of themselves.

THE *Dutch*, whose Practice is so often quoted to prove and celebrate the great Advantages of a general Liberty of Conscience, have yet a National Religion, professed by all who bear Office among them: But why should they be a Precedent for us, either in Religion or Government? Our Country differs from theirs, as well in Situation, Soil, and Productions of Nature, as in the Genius and Complexion of Inhabitants. They are a Commonwealth, founded on a sudden, by a desperate Attempt in a desperate Condition, not formed or digested into a regular System, by mature Thought and Reason, but huddled up under the Pressure of sudden Exigences; calculated for no long Duration, and hitherto subsisting by Accident in the Midst of contending Powers, who cannot *yet* agree about sharing it amongst them. These Difficulties do, indeed, preserve them from any great Corruptions, which their crazy Constitution would extreamly subject them to in a long Peace. That Confluence of People, in a persecuting Age, to a Place of Refuge nearest at Hand, put them upon the Necessity of Trade, to which they wisely gave all Ease and Encouragement: And, if we could think fit to imitate them in this last Particular, there would need no more to invite Foreigners among us; who seem to think no farther, than how to secure their Property and Conscience, without projecting any Share in that Government which gives them Protection; or calling it *Persecution*, if it be denied them. But I speak it for the Honour of our Administration; that although our Sects are not so numerous as those in *Holland*; which I presume is not our *Fault*; and I wish may not be our *Misfortune*; we much excel them, and all *Christendom* besides, in our Indulgence to tender Consciences. One single Compliance with the National Form of receiving the Sacrament, is all we require to qualify any Sectary among us for the greatest Employments in the State; after which, he is at Liberty

to rejoin his own Assemblies for the rest of his Life. Besides, I will suppose any of the numerous Sects in *Holland*, to have so far prevailed as to have raised a Civil War, destroyed their Government and Religion, and put their *Administrators* to Death; after which, I will suppose the People to have recovered all again, and to have settled on their old Foundation: Then I would put a Query; whether that Sect, which was the unhappy Instrument of all this Confusion, could reasonably expect to be entrusted for the future with the greatest Employments; or, indeed, to be hardly tolerated among them?

To go on with the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England Man*: He does not see how that mighty Passion for the Church, which some Men pretend, can well consist with those Indignities, and that Contempt they bestow on the Persons of the Clergy. It is a strange Mark whereby to distinguish *High-Church* Men, that they are such, who imagine the Clergy can never be too *low*. He thinks the Maxim these Gentlemen are so fond of; that they are for an *humble* Clergy, is a very good one: And so is He; and for an humble Laity too; since Humility is a Virtue that perhaps equally befits and adorns every Station of Life.

BUT then, if the Scribblers on the other Side freely speak the Sentiments of their Party; a Divine of the Church of *England* cannot look for much better Quarter from thence. You shall observe nothing more frequent in their weekly Papers, than a way of affecting to confound the Terms of *Clergy* and *High-Church*; of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the Calumny they can invent. They will tell you they honour a Clergyman; but talk, at the same Time, as if there were not Three in the Kingdom, who could fall in with their Definition. After the like Manner, they insult the *Universities*, as poisoned Fountains, and Corrupters of Youth.

Now, it seems clear to me, that the *Whigs* might easily have procured, and maintained a Majority among the Clergy, and perhaps in the Universities, if they had not too much encour-



aged, or connived at this Intemperance of Speech, and Virulence of Pen, in the worst and most prostitute of their Party: Among whom there hath been, for some Years past, such a perpetual Clamour against the Ambition, the implacable Temper, and the Covetousness of the *Priesthood*: Such a Cant of *High-Church*, and *Persecution*, and being *Priest-ridden*; so many Reproaches about *narrow Principles*, or *Terms of Communion*: Then such scandalous Reflections on the Universities, for infecting the Youth of the Nation with arbitrary and *Jacobite* Principles; that it was natural for those, who had the Care of Religion and Education, to apprehend some general Design of altering the Constitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, because it could not easily be forgot, that whatever Opposition was made to the Usurpations of King *James*, proceeded altogether from the Church of *England*, and chiefly from the *Clergy*, and one of the Universities. For, if it were of any Use to recall Matters of Fact, what is more notorious than that Prince's applying himself first to the Church of *England*; and upon their Refusal to fall in with his Measures, making the like Advances to the *Dissenters* of all Kinds, who readily and almost universally complied with him; affecting, in their numerous Addresses and Pamphlets, the Style of *Our Brethren the Roman Catholicks*; whose Interests they put on the same Foot with their own: And some of *Cromwell's* Officers took Posts in the Army raised against the Prince of *Orange*. These Proceedings of theirs, they can only extenuate by urging the Provocations they had met from the Church in King *Charles's* Reign; which, although perhaps excuseable upon the Score of human Infirmary; are not, by any Means, a Plea of Merit, equal to the Constancy and Sufferings of the Bishops and Clergy; or of the Head and Fellows of *Magdalen* College; that furnished the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration with such powerful Arguments, to justify and promote the Revolution.

THEREFORE a *Church-of-England Man* abhors the Humour

of the Age, in delighting to fling Scandals upon the Clergy in general; which, besides the Disgrace to the Reformation, and to Religion it self, casts an Ignominy upon the Kingdom, that it doth not deserve. We have no better Materials to compound the Priesthood of, than the Mass of Mankind, which, corrupted as it is, those who receive Orders, must have some Vices to leave behind them, when they enter into the Church; and if a few still adhere, it is no wonder, but rather a great one that they are no worse. Therefore He cannot think *Ambition*, or *Love of Power*, more justly laid to their Charge, than to other Men; because that would be to make Religion it self, or at least the best Constitution of Church-Government, answerable for the Errors and Depravity of human Nature.

WITHIN these last two Hundred Years, all sorts of Temporal Power have been wrested from the Clergy, and much of their Ecclesiastick: The Reason, or Justice of which Proceeding, I shall not examine; but that the Remedies were a little too violent, with respect to their *Possessions*, the Legislature hath lately confessed, by the Remission of their *first Fruits*. Neither do the common Libellers deny this; who in their Invectives only tax the Church with an unsatiable Desire of Power and Wealth, (equally common to all Bodies of Men as well as Individuals) but thank God, that the Laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth observing the Justice of Parties: The Sects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard Usage to be reproached now, after Fifty Years, for overturning the State, for the Murder of a King, and the Indignity of an Usurpation; yet these very Men, and their Partisans, are continually reproaching the Clergy, and laying to their Charge the Pride, the Avarice, the Luxury, the Ignorance, and Superstition of *Popish* Times, for a Thousand Years past.

HE thinks it a Scandal to Government, that such an unlimited Liberty should be allowed of publishing Books against those Doctrines in Religion, wherein all Christians have agreed;



much more to connive at such Tracts as reject all Revelation, and, by their Consequences, often deny the very Being of a God. Surely it is not a sufficient Atonement for the Writers, that they profess much Loyalty to the present Government, and sprinkle, up and down, some Arguments in Favour of the *Dissenters*; that they dispute, as strenuously as they can, for Liberty of Conscience, and inveigh largely against all Ecclesiasticks, under the Name of *High-Church*; and, in short, under the Shelter of some popular Principles in Politicks and Religion, undermine the Foundations of all Piety and Virtue.

As He doth not reckon every *Schism* of that damnable Nature, which some would represent; so He is very far from closing with the new Opinion of those, who would make it no Crime at all; and argue at a wild Rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the Variety of Faith and Worship, as he is with the Varieties of Nature. To such Absurdities are Men carried by the Affectation of *Free-thinking*, and removing the *Prejudices of Education*; under which Head, they have, for some Time, begun to list *Morality* and *Religion*. It is certain, that before the *Rebellion* in 1642, although the Number of *Puritans* (as they were then called) were as great as it is with us; and although they affected to follow Pastors of that Denomination, yet those Pastors had Episcopal Ordination, possessed Preferments in the Church, and were sometimes promoted to Bishopricks themselves. But a Breach, in the general Form of Worship, was, in those Days, reckoned so dangerous and sinful in it self, and so offensive to *Roman Catholics* at home and abroad; that it was too unpopular to be attempted: Neither, I believe, was the Expedient then found out, of maintaining separate Pastors out of private Purses.

WHEN a *Schism* is once spread in a Nation, there grows, at length, a Dispute which are the Schismatics. Without entering on the Arguments, used by both Sides among us, to fix the Guilt on each other; it is certain, that in the Sense of the Law,

the *Schism* lies on that Side which opposeth it self to the Religion of the State. I leave it among *Divines* to dilate upon the Danger of *Schism*, as a Spiritual Evil; but I would consider it only as a Temporal one. And I think it clear, that any great Separation from the established Worship, although to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occasion of endangering the publick Peace; because, it will compose a Body always in Reserve, prepared to follow any discontented Heads, upon the plausible Pretexes of advancing *true Religion*, and opposing Error, Superstition, or Idolatry. For this Reason, *Plato* lays it down as a Maxim, that *Men ought to worship the Gods, according to the Laws of the Country*; and he introduceth *Socrates*, in his last Discourse, utterly disowning the Crime laid to his Charge, of *teaching new Divinities*, or Methods of Worship. Thus the poor *Hugonots* of *France*, were engaged in a Civil War, by the specious Pretences of some who, under the Guise of Religion, sacrificed so many Thousand Lives to their own Ambition, and Revenge. Thus was the whole Body of *Puritans* in *England*, drawn to be the Instruments, or Abettors of all Manner of Villany, by the Artifices of a few Men, whose \*Designs, from the first, were levelled to destroy the Constitution, both of Religion and Government. And thus, even in *Holland* it self, where it is pretended that the Variety of Sects live so amicably together, and in such perfect Obedience to the Magistrate; it is notorious, how a turbulent Party joining with the *Arminians*, did, in the Memory of our Fathers, attempt to destroy the Liberty of that Republick. So that, upon the whole, where Sects are tolerated in a State, it is fit they should enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience, and every other Privilege of free-born Subjects, *to which no Power is annexed*. And to preserve their Obedience upon all Emergencies, a Government cannot give them too much Ease, nor trust them with too little Power.

\*Lord  
Clarendon's  
Hist.

THE *Clergy* are usually charged with a *persecuting Spirit*, which



they are said to discover by an implacable Hatred against all *Dissenters*; and this appears to be more unreasonable, because they suffer less in their Interests by a *Toleration*, than any of the *Conforming Laity*: For while the *Church* remains in its present Form, no *Dissenter* can possibly have any Share in its Dignities, Revenues, or Power; whereas, by once receiving the Sacrament, he is rendered capable of the highest Employments in the State. And it is very possible, that a narrow Education, together with a Mixture of human Infirmary, may help to beget, among some of the *Clergy in Possession*, such an Aversion and Contempt for all *Innovators*, as *Physicians* are apt to have for *Empiricks*, or *Lawyers* for *Pettifoggers*, or *Merchants* for *Pedlars*. But since the Number of Sectaries doth not concern the Clergy, either in Point of Interest, or Conscience, (it being an Evil not in their Power to remedy) it is more fair and reasonable to suppose, their Dislike proceeds from the Dangers they apprehend to the Peace of the Commonwealth; in the Ruin whereof, they must expect to be the first and greatest Sufferers.

To conclude this Section; it must be observed; that there is a very good Word, which hath of late suffered much by both Parties; I mean MODERATION; which the one Side very justly disowns, and the other as unjustly pretends to. Beside what passeth every Day in Conversation; any Man who reads the Papers published by Mr. *Lesly*, and others of his Stamp, must needs conclude, that if this Author could make the Nation see his Adversaries, under the Colours he paints them in; we had nothing else to do, but rise as one Man, and destroy such Wretches from the Face of the Earth. On the other Side, how shall we excuse the Advocates for *Moderation*; among whom, I could appeal to an Hundred Papers of universal Approbation, by the Cause they were writ for, which lay such Principles to the whole Body of the *Tories*, as, if they were true, and believed; our next Business should, in Prudence, be to erect Gibbets in every Parish, and hang them out of the Way. But, I

suppose it is presumed, the common People understand *Railery*, or at least *Rhetorick*; and will not take *Hyperboles* in too literal a Sense; which, however, in some Junctures might prove a desperate Experiment. And this is *Moderation*, in the *modern* Sense of the Word; to which, speaking impartially, the Bigots of both Parties are *equally* entituled.

## SECT. II.

*The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man,  
with respect to Government.*

WE look upon it as a very just Reproach, although we cannot agree where to fix it; that there should be so much Violence and Hatred in religious Matters, among Men who agree in all Fundamentals, and only differ in some Ceremonies; or, at most, meer speculative Points. Yet is not this frequently the Case between contending Parties in a State? For Instance; do not the Generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among us, profess to agree in the same *Fundamentals*; their Loyalty to the Queen, their Abjuration of the *Pretender*, the Settlement of the Crown in the *Protestant* Line; and a *Revolution Principle*? Their Affection to the Church Established, with Toleration of *Dissenters*? Nay, sometimes they go farther, and pass over into each other's Principles; the *Whigs* become great Asserters of the Prerogative; and the *Tories*, of the People's Liberty; these crying down almost the whole Set of Bishops, and those defending them; so that the Differences fairly stated, would be much of a Sort with those in Religion among us; and amount to little more than, *who should take Place*, or *go in and out first*, or *kiss the Queen's Hand*; and what are these but a few *Court Ceremonies*? or *who should be in the Ministry*? And what is that to the



Body of the Nation, but a meer *speculative Point*? Yet I think it must be allowed, that no religious Sects ever carried their mutual Aversions to greater Heights, than our State Parties have done; who, the more to enflame their Passions, have mixed Religious and Civil Animosities together; borrowing one of their Appellations from the Church, with the Addition of *High* and *Low*; how little soever their Disputes relate to the Term, as it is generally understood.

I NOW proceed to deliver the Sentiments of a *Church-of-England Man*, with respect to Government.

HE doth not think the Church of *England* so narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular Species of Government; nor does he think any one regular Species of Government, more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the *Schools*, have all of them their several Perfections, and are subject to their several Depravations: However, few States are ruined by any Defect in their Institution, but generally by the Corruption of Manners; against which, the best Institution is no long Security, and without which, a very ill one may subsist and flourish: Whereof there are two pregnant Instances now in *Europe*. The first is the *Aristocracy* of *Venice*; which, founded upon the wisest Maxims, and digested by a great Length of Time, hath, in our Age, admitted so many Abuses, through the Degeneracy of the Nobles, that the Period of its Duration seems to approach. The other is the United Republicks of the *States General*; where a Vein of Temperance, Industry, Parsimony, and a publick Spirit, running through the whole Body of the People, hath preserved an infant Commonwealth of an untimely Birth and sickly Constitution, for above an Hundred Years, through so many Dangers and Difficulties, as a much more healthy one could never have struggled against, without those Advantages.

WHERE Security of Person and Property are preserved by Laws, which none but the *Whole* can repeal, there the great ends

of Government are provided for, whether the Administration be in the Hands of *One*, or of *Many*. Where any one *Person*, or *Body* of Men, who do not represent the *Whole*, seize into their Hands the Power in the last Resort; there is properly no longer a Government, but what *Aristotle*, and his Followers, call the *Abuse* and *Corruptions* of one. This Distinction excludes arbitrary Power, in whatever Numbers; which, notwithstanding all that *Hobbes*, *Filmer*, and others have said to its Advantage, I look upon as a greater Evil than *Anarchy* it self; as much as a *Savage* is in a happier State of Life, than a *Slave* at the Oar.

It is reckoned ill Manners, as well as unreasonable, for Men to quarrel upon Difference in Opinion; because, that is usually supposed to be a Thing, which no Man can help in himself: But this I do not conceive to be an universal infallible Maxim, except in those Cases where the Question is pretty equally disputed among the Learned and the Wise: Where it is otherwise, a Man of tolerable Reason, some Experience, and willing to be instructed, may apprehend he is got into a wrong Opinion, although the whole Course of his Mind, and Inclination, would persuade him to believe it true: He may be convinced that he is in an Error, although he doth not see where it lies; by the bad Effects of it in the common Conduct of his Life; and by observing those Persons, for whose Wisdom, and Goodness he hath the greatest Deference, to be of a contrary Sentiment. According to *Hobbes's* Comparison of *Reasoning* with *casting up Accounts*; whoever finds a Mistake in the *Sum total*, must allow himself out; although, after repeated Tryals, he may not see in which Article he hath misreckoned. I will instance, in one Opinion, which I look upon every Man obliged in Conscience to quit, or in Prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in Defence of absolute Power in a single Person, although he offers the old plausible Plea, that *it is his Opinion, which he cannot help, unless he be convinced*, ought, in all free States, to be treated as the common Enemy of Mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy



Charge upon the *Clergy* of the two Reigns before the *Revolution*; who, under the Terms of *Passive Obedience*, and *Non-Resistance*, are said to have preached up the unlimited Power of the Prince, because they found it a Doctrine that pleased the Court, and made Way for their Preferment. And I believe, there may be Truth enough in this Accusation, to convince us, that human Frailty will too often interpose it self among Persons of the holiest Function. However, it may be offered in Excuse for the Clergy, that in the best Societies there are some ill Members, which a corrupted Court and Ministry will industriously find out, and introduce. Besides, it is manifest that the greater Number of those, who held and preached this Doctrine, were misguided by equivocal Terms, and by perfect Ignorance in the Principles of Government, which they had not made any Part of their Study. The Question originally put, and as I remember to have heard it disputed in publick Schools, was this; *Whether under any Pretence whatsoever, it may be lawful to resist the supreme Magistrate*, which was held in the Negative; and this is certainly the right Opinion. But many of the Clergy and other learned Men, deceived by a dubious Expression, mistook the Object to which *Passive Obedience* was due. By the *Supreme Magistrate* is properly understood the Legislative Power, which in all Government must be absolute and unlimited. But the Word *Magistrate* seeming to denote a *single Person*, and to express the *Executive Power*; it came to pass, that the Obedience due to the *Legislature* was, for want of knowing or considering this easy Distinction, misapplied to the *Administration*. Neither is it any Wonder, that the Clergy, or other well-meaning People should often fall into this Error, which deceived *Hobbes* himself so far, as to be the Foundation of all the political Mistakes in his Book; where he perpetually confounds the *Executive* with the *Legislative Power*; though all well-instituted States have ever placed them in different Hands; as may be obvious to those who know any thing of *Athens*, *Sparta*,

*Thebes*, and other Republicks of *Greece*; as well as the greater ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*.

BESIDES, it is to be considered, that when these Doctrines began to be preached among us, the Kingdom had not quite worn out the Memory of that horrid *Rebellion*, under the Consequences of which it had groaned almost twenty Years. And a *weak Prince*, in Conjunction with a Succession of most prostitute Ministers, began again to dispose the People to new Attempts; which it was, no doubt, the Clergy's Duty to endeavour to prevent; if some of them had not for want of Knowledge in Temporal Affairs; and others perhaps from a worse Principle, proceeded upon a Topick, that strictly followed, would enslave all Mankind.

AMONG other Theological Arguments made use of in those Times, in praise of Monarchy, and Justification of absolute Obedience to a Prince, there seemed to be one of a singular Nature: It was urged, that *Heaven* was governed by a *Monarch*, who had none to controul his Power, but was absolutely obeyed: Then it followed, That earthly Governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated the Government in Heaven. All which I look upon as the strongest Argument against *despotick* Power that ever was offered; since no Reason can possibly be assigned, why it is best for the World that God Almighty hath such a Power, which doth not directly prove that no Mortal Man should ever have the like.

BUT although a *Church-of-England Man* thinks every Species of Government equally *lawful*; he doth not think them equally *expedient*; or for every Country indifferently. There may be something in the Climate, naturally disposing Men towards one Sort of Obedience; as it is manifest all over *Asia*, where we never read of any Commonwealth, except some small ones on the *Western* Coasts, established by the *Greeks*. There may be a great deal in the Situation of a Country, and in the present *Genius* of the People. It hath been observed, that the temperate



Climates usually run into moderate Governments, and the Extreames into despotick Power. It is a Remark of *Hobbes*, that the Youth of *England* are corrupted in their Principles of Government, by reading the Authors of *Greece* and *Rome*, who writ under Commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the Honour of Liberty, that while the rest of the known World was overrun with the Arbitrary Government of single Persons; *Arts* and *Sciences* took their Rise, and flourished only in those few small Territories where the People were *free*. And although *Learning* may continue after *Liberty* is lost, as it did in *Rome*, for a while upon the Foundations laid under the Commonwealth, and the particular Patronage of some Emperors; yet it hardly ever began under a *Tyranny* in any Nation: Because *Slavery* is of all Things the greatest Clog and Obstacle to *Speculation*. And indeed, Arbitrary Power is but the first natural Step from *Anarchy* or the *Savage Life*; the adjusting *Power* and *Freedom* being an Effect and Consequence of maturer Thinking: And this is no where so duly regulated as in a limited Monarchy: Because I believe it may pass for a Maxim in State, that *the Administration cannot be placed in too few Hands*, nor the *Legislature in too many*. Now in this material Point, the Constitution of the *English* Government far exceeds all others at this Time on the Earth; to which the present Establishment of the *Church* doth so happily agree, that I think, whoever is an Enemy to *either*, must of necessity be so to *both*.

HE thinks, as our Monarchy is constituted, an Hereditary Right is much to be preferred before *Election*. Because, the Government here, especially by some late Amendments, is so regularly disposed in all its Parts, that it almost executes it self. And therefore, upon the Death of a Prince among us, the Administration goes on without any Rub, or Interruption. For the same Reasons, we have less to apprehend from the *Weakness*, or *Fury* of our Monarchs, who have such wise Councils to guide the first, and Laws to restrain the other. And therefore,

this Hereditary Right should be kept so sacred, as never to break the Succession, unless where the preserving it may endanger the Constitution; which is not from any intrinsick Merit, or unalienable Right in a *particular Family*; but to avoid the Consequences that usually attend the Ambition of Competitors, to which elective Kingdoms are exposed; and which is the only Obstacle to hinder them from arriving at the greatest Perfection that Government can possibly reach. Hence appears the Absurdity of that Distinction between a King *de facto*, and one *de jure*, with respect to us: For every *limited* Monarch is a King *de jure*, because he governs by the Consent of the *Whole*; which is Authority sufficient to abolish all precedent Right. If a King come in by *Conquest*, he is no longer a *limited* Monarch: If he afterwards consent to Limitations, he becomes immediately King *de jure*, for the same Reason.

THE great Advocates for *Succession*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any Regard, or Consideration whatsoever, do insist much upon one Argument, that seems to carry little Weight. They would have it, that a *Crown* is a Prince's Birth-right, and ought, at least, to be as well secured to him, and his Posterity, as the Inheritance of any private Man: In short, that he has the same Title to his Kingdom, which every Individual hath to his Property. Now, the Consequence of this Doctrine must be, that as a Man may find several Ways to waste, mispend, or abuse his Patrimony, without being answerable to the Laws; so a King may, in like Manner, do what he will with *his own*; that is, he may squander and misapply his Revenues, and even alienate the Crown, without being called to an Account by his Subjects. They allow such a Prince to be guilty, indeed, of much Folly and Wickedness; but for these he is *answerable to God*, as every private Man must be, who is guilty of Mismanagement in his own Concerns. Now the Folly of this Reasoning will best appear, by applying it in a parallel Case: Should any Man argue, that a Physician is supposed to understand his



own Art best; that the Law protects and encourages his Profession: And therefore, although he should manifestly prescribe *Poison* to all his Patients, whereof they must immediately die; he cannot be justly punished, but is answerable only to God. Or, should the same be offered in Behalf of a Divine, who would preach against Religion, and moral Duties: In either of these two Cases, every Body would find out the Sophistry; and presently answer, that, although common Men are not exactly skilled in the Composition, or Application of Medicines, or in prescribing the Limits of Duty; yet the Difference between *Poisons* and *Remedies*, is easily known by their Effects, and common Reason soon distinguishes between *Virtue* and *Vice*: And it must be necessary to forbid both these the further Practice of their Professions; because, their Crimes are not purely personal to the Physician, or the Divine, but destructive to the Publick. All which is infinitely stronger, in respect to a Prince; in whose good, or ill Conduct, the Happiness, or Misery of a whole Nation is included; whereas, it is of small Consequence to the Publick, farther than Example, how any private Person manageth his Property.

BUT, granting that the Right of a lineal Successor to a Crown, were upon the same Foot with the Property of a Subject; still it may, at any Time, be transferred by the legislative Power, as other Properties frequently are. The supreme Power in a State can *do no Wrong*; because, whatever that doth, is the Action of all: And when the *Lawyers* apply this Maxim to the *King*, they must understand it only in that Sense, as he is Administrator of the supreme Power; otherwise, it is not universally true, but may be controuled in several Instances easy to produce.

AND these are the Topicks we must proceed upon, to justify our Exclusion of the young *Pretender* in *France*: That of his suspected Birth, being meerly popular, and therefore not made use of, as I remember, since the Revolution, in any Speech, Vote, or Proclamation, where there was Occasion to mention him.



As to the *Abdication* of King *James*, which the Advocates on that Side look upon to have been forcible and unjust, and consequently void in it self; I think a Man may observe every Article of the *English* Church, without being in much Pain about it. It is not unlikely that all Doors were laid open for his Departure, and perhaps not without the Privy of the Prince of *Orange*; as reasonably concluding, that the Kingdom might better be settled in his Absence: But, to affirm, he had any Cause to apprehend the same Treatment with his *Father*, is an improbable Scandal flung upon the Nation by a few biggotted *French* Scribblers, or the invidious Assertion of a ruined Party at home, in the Bitterness of their Souls: Not one material Circumstance agreeing with those in 1648; and the greatest Part of the Nation having preserved the utmost Horror for that ignominious *Murder*. But whether his Removal were caused by his own *Fears*, or other Mens *Artifices*, it is manifest to me, that supposing the Throne to be vacant, which was the Foot the Nation went upon; the Body of the People was thereupon left at Liberty, to chuse what Form of Government they pleased, by themselves, or their Representatives.

THE only Difficulty of any Weight against the Proceedings at the Revolution, is an obvious Objection, to which the Writers upon that Subject have not yet given a direct, or sufficient Answer; as if they were in Pain at some Consequences, which they apprehended those of the contrary Opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this Objection, as it was offered me some Time ago, with all its Advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy Gentleman of the Non-juring Party.

THE Force of his Argument turned upon this; that the Laws made by the supreme Power, cannot otherwise than by the supreme Power be annulled: That this consisting in *England* of a King, Lords, and Commons, whereof each have a negative Voice, no Two of them can repeal, or enact a Law without Consent of the Third; much less, may any one of them be



entirely excluded from its Part of the Legislature, by a *Vote* of the other Two. That all these Maxims were openly violated at the Revolution; where an Assembly of the *Nobles* and *People*, not summoned by the King's Writ, (which was an essential Part of the Constitution,) and consequently no lawful Meeting; did, meerly upon their own Authority, declare the King to have abdicated, the Throne vacant; and gave the Crown, by a Vote, to a *Nephew*, when there were three Children to inherit; although by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, the next Heir is immediately to succeed. Neither doth it appear, how a Prince's *Abdication* can make any other Sort of Vacancy in the Throne, than would be caused by his Death; since he cannot abdicate for his Children, (who claim their Right of Succession by Act of Parliament,) otherwise than by his own Consent, in Form, to a Bill from the two Houses.

AND this is the Difficulty that seems chiefly to stick with the most reasonable of those, who, from a meer Scruple of Conscience, refuse to join with us upon the Revolution Principle; but for the rest, are, I believe, as far from loving arbitrary Government, as any others can be, who are born under a free Constitution, and are allowed to have the least Share of common good Sense.

IN this Objection, there are two Questions included: First, Whether upon the Foot of our Constitution, as it stood in the Reign of the late King *James*; a King of *England* may be deposed? The second is, Whether the People of *England*, convened by their own Authority, after the King had withdrawn himself in the Manner he did, had Power to alter the Succession?

As for the first; it is a Point I shall not presume to determine; and shall therefore only say, that to any Man who holds the Negative, I would demand the Liberty of putting the Case as strongly as I please. I will suppose a Prince limited by Laws like ours, yet running into a Thousand Caprices of Cruelty, like



*Nero* or *Caligula*. I will suppose him to murder his Mother and his Wife, to commit Incest, to ravish Matrons, to blow up the Senate, and burn his Metropolis; openly to renounce God and Christ, and worship the Devil: These, and the like Exorbitances are in the Power of a single Person to commit without the Advice of a Ministry, or Assistance of an Army. And if such a King, as I have described, cannot be deposed but by his own Consent in Parliament, I do not well see how he can be *resisted*; or what can be meant by a *limited* Monarchy; or what signifies the People's Consent, in making and repealing Laws, if the Person who administers hath no Tie [but] Conscience, and is answerable to none but God. I desire no stronger Proof that an Opinion must be false, than to find very great Absurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the present Case: For it is not a bare Speculation, that Kings may run into such Enormities as are above-mentioned; the Practice may be proved by Examples, not only drawn from the first *Cæsars*, or later Emperors, but many modern Princes of *Europe*; such as *Peter* the Cruel, *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, *John Basilovits* of *Muscovy*; and in our own Nation, King *John*, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Eighth. But there cannot be equal Absurdities supposed in maintaining the contrary Opinion; because it is certain, that Princes have it in their Power to keep a Majority on their Side by any tolerable Administration, till provoked by continual Oppressions; no Man indeed can then answer where the Madness of the People will stop.

As to the second Part of the Objection; whether the People of *England* convened by their own Authority, upon King *James's* precipitate Departure, had Power to alter the Succession?

IN answer to this, I think it is manifest from the Practice of the wisest Nations, and who seem to have had the truest Notions of Freedom; that when a Prince was laid aside for Male-Administration, the *Nobles* and *People*, if they thought it



necessary for the Publick Weal, did resume the Administration of the supreme Power, (the Power it self having been always in them) and did not only alter the Succession, but often the very Form of Government too; because they believed there was no natural Right in one Man to govern another; but that all was by Institution, Force, or Consent. Thus, the Cities of *Greece*, when they drove out their tyrannical Kings, either chose others from a new Family, or abolished the kingly Government, and became free States. Thus the *Romans*, upon the Expulsion of *Tarquin*, found it inconvenient for them to be subject any longer to the Pride, the Lust, the Cruelty, and arbitrary Will of single Persons; and therefore by general Consent, entirely altered the whole Frame of their Government. Nor do I find the Proceedings of either, in this Point, to have been condemned by any Historian of the succeeding Ages.

BUT a great deal hath been already said by other Writers, upon this invidious and beaten Subject; therefore I shall let it fall; although the Point be commonly mistaken, especially by the *Lawyers*; who of all other Professions seem least to understand the Nature of Government in general; like Underworkmen, who are expert enough at making a single Wheel in a Clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjust the several Parts, or to regulate the Movement.

To return therefore from this Digression: It is a *Church-of-England Man's* Opinion, that the Freedom of a Nation consists in an absolute *unlimited legislative* Power, wherein the whole Body of the People are *fairly* represented; and in an *executive* duly *limited*; Because on this Side likewise, there may be dangerous Degrees, and a very ill Extream. For when two Parties in a State are pretty equal in *Power*, *Pretensions*, *Merit*, and *Virtue*, (for these two last are, with relation to Parties and a Court, quite different Things,) it hath been the Opinion of the best Writers upon Government, that a Prince ought not in any

sort to be under the Guidance, or Influence of either; because he declines, by this Means, from his Office of presiding over the *Whole*, to be the Head of a *Party*; which, besides the Indignity, renders him answerable for all publick Mismanagements, and the Consequences of them: And in whatever State this happens, there must either be a Weakness in the Prince or Ministry, or else the former is too much restrained by the Nobles, or those who represent the People.

To conclude: A *Church-of-England Man* may with Prudence and a good Conscience approve the professed Principles of one Party more than the other, according as he thinks they best promote the Good of Church and State; but he will never be swayed by Passion or Interest to advance an Opinion meerly because it is *That* of the Party he most approves; which one single Principle he looks upon as the Root of all our civil Animosities. To enter into a *Party* as into an Order of *Fryars*, with so resigned an Obedience to Superiors, is very unsuitable both with the civil and religious Liberties, we so zealously assert. Thus the Understandings of a whole Senate are often enslaved by three or four Leaders on each Side; who instead of intending the publick Weal, have their Hearts wholly set upon *Ways and Means* how to get, or to keep Employments. But to speak more at large; how has this Spirit of Faction mingled it self with the Mass of the People, changed their Nature and Manners, and the very Genius of the Nation? Broke all the Laws of Charity, Neighbourhood, Alliance and Hospitality; destroyed all Ties of Friendship, and divided Families against themselves? And no Wonder it should be so, when in order to find out the Character of a Person; instead of enquiring whether he be a Man of Virtue, Honour, Piety, Wit, good Sense, or Learning; the modern Question is only, Whether he be a *Whig* or a *Tory*; under which Terms all good and ill Qualities are included.

Now, because it is a Point of Difficulty to chuse an exact Middle between two ill Extrems; it may be worth enquiring



in the present Case, which of these a wise and good Man would rather seem to avoid: Taking therefore their own good and ill Characters with due Abatements and Allowances for Partiality and Passion; I should think that, in order to preserve the Constitution entire in the Church and State; whoever hath a true Value for both, would be sure to avoid the Extreams of *Whig* for the Sake of the former, and the Extreams of *Tory* on Account of the latter.

I HAVE now said all that I could think convenient upon so nice a Subject; and find, I have the Ambition common with other Reasoners, to wish at least, that both Parties may think me *in the right*, which would be of some Use to those who have any Virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the Extravagancies of either, upon false Representations, to serve the Ambition or Malice of designing Men, without any Prospect of their own. But if that may not be hoped for; my next Wish should be, that both might think me *in the wrong*; which I would understand, as an ample Justification of my self, and a sure Ground to believe, that I have proceeded at least with Impartiality, and perhaps with Truth.

#### AN ARGUMENT

To prove, That the  
Abolishing of CHRISTIANITY IN *ENGLAND*,  
May, as Things now stand, be attended with some  
Inconveniencies, and perhaps, not produce those  
many good Effects proposed thereby.

I AM very sensible what a Weakness and Presumption it is, to reason against the general Humour and Disposition of the World. I remember it was with great Justice, and a due Regard to the Freedom both of the Publick and the Press, forbidden

upon severe Penalties to write or discourse, or lay Wagers against the *Union*, even before it was confirmed by Parliament: Because that was looked upon as a Design to oppose the Current of the People; which besides the Folly of it, is a manifest Breach of the Fundamental Law, that makes this Majority of Opinion the Voice of God. In like Manner, and for the very same Reasons, it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent to argue against the Abolishing of Christianity, at a Juncture when all Parties appear so unanimously determined upon the Point; as we cannot but allow from their Actions, their Discourses, and their Writings. However, I know not how, whether from the Affectation of Singularity, or the Perverseness of human Nature; but so it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this Opinion. Nay, although I were sure an Order were issued out for my immediate Prosecution by the Attorney-General; I should still confess, that in the present Posture of our Affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet see the absolute Necessity of extirpating the Christian Religion from among us.

THIS perhaps may appear too great a Paradox, even for our wise and paradoxical Age to endure: Therefore I shall handle it with all Tenderness, and with the utmost Deference to that great and profound Majority, which is of another Sentiment.

AND yet the Curious may please to observe, how much the Genius of a Nation is liable to alter in half an Age: I have heard it affirmed for certain by some very old People, that the contrary Opinion was even in their Memories as much in Vogue as the other is now; and that a Project for the Abolishing Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be at this Time to write or discourse in its Defence.

THEREFORE I freely own, that all Appearances are against me. The System of the Gospel, after the Fate of other Systems is generally antiquated and exploded; and the Mass or Body of the common People, among whom it seems to have had its



latest Credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their Betters: Opinions, like Fashions always descending from those of Quality to the middle Sort, and thence to the Vulgar, where at length they are dropt and vanish.

BUT here I would not be mistaken; and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a Distinction from the Writers on the other Side, when they make a Difference between nominal and real *Trinitarians*. I hope, no Reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the Defence of *real* Christianity; such as used in primitive Times (if we may believe the Authors of those Ages) to have an Influence upon Mens Belief and Actions: To offer at the restoring of that, would indeed be a wild Project; it would be to dig up Foundations; to destroy at one Blow *all* the Wit, and *half* the Learning of the Kingdom; to break the entire Frame and Constitution of Things; to ruin Trade, extinguish Arts and Sciences with the Professors of them; in short, to turn our Courts, Exchanges and Shops into Desarts: And would be full as absurd as the Proposal of *Horace*, where he advises the *Romans*, all in a Body, to leave their City, and seek a new Seat in some remote Part of the World, by Way of Cure for the Corruption of their Manners.

THEREFORE, I think this Caution was in it self altogether unnecessary, (which I have inserted only to prevent all Possibility of cavilling) since every candid Reader will easily understand my Discourse to be intended only in Defence of *nominal* Christianity; the other having been for some Time wholly laid aside by general Consent, as utterly inconsistent with our present Schemes of Wealth and Power.

BUT why we should therefore cast off the Name and Title of Christians, although the general Opinion and Resolution be so violent for it; I confess I cannot (with Submission) apprehend the Consequence necessary. However, since the Undertakers propose such wonderful Advantages to the Nation by this Project; and advance many plausible Objections against

the System of Christianity; I shall briefly consider the Strength of both; fairly allow them their greatest Weight, and offer such Answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew what Inconveniencies may possibly happen by such an Innovation, in the present Posture of our Affairs.

*First*, ONE great Advantage proposed by the Abolishing of Christianity is, That it would very much enlarge and establish Liberty of Conscience, that great Bulwark of our Nation, and of the *Protestant* Religion, which is still too much limited by *Priest-craft*, notwithstanding all the good Intentions of the Legislature; as we have lately found by a severe Instance. For it is confidently reported, that two young Gentlemen of real Hopes, bright Wit, and profound Judgment, who upon a thorough Examination of Causes and Effects, and by the meer Force of natural Abilities, without the least Tincture of Learning; having made a Discovery, that there was no God, and generously communicating their Thoughts for the Good of the Publick; were some Time ago, by an unparalleled Severity, and upon I know not what *obsolete* Law, broke *only* for *Blasphemy*. And as it hath been wisely observed, if Persecution once begins, no Man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

IN Answer to all which, with Deference to wiser Judgments, I think this rather shews the Necessity of a *nominal* Religion among us. Great Wits love to be free with the highest Objects; and if they cannot be allowed a *God* to revile or renounce; they will *speake Evil of Dignities*, abuse the Government, and reflect upon the Ministry; which I am sure, few will deny to be of much more pernicious Consequence; according to the Saying of *Tiberius*, *Deorum offensa Diis curæ*. As to the particular Fact related; I think it is not fair to argue from one Instance; perhaps another cannot be produced; yet (to the Comfort of all those, who may be apprehensive of Persecution) Blasphemy we know is freely spoke a Million of Times in every Coffee-House and Tavern, or where-ever else *good Company* meet. It must be



allowed indeed, that to break an *English Free-born* Officer only for Blasphemy, was, to speak the gentlest of such an Action, a very high Strain of absolute Power. Little can be said in Excuse for the General; perhaps he was afraid it might give Offence to the Allies, among whom, for ought I know, it may be the Custom of the Country to believe a God. But if he argued, as some have done, upon a mistaken Principle, that an Officer who is guilty of speaking Blasphemy, may, some Time or other, proceed so far as to raise a Mutiny; the Consequence is, by no Means, to be admitted: For, surely the Commander of an *English* Army is like to be but ill obeyed, whose Soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

It is further objected against the Gospel System, that it obliges Men to the Belief of Things too difficult for Free-Thinkers, and such who have shaken off the Prejudices that usually cling to a confined Education. To which I answer, that Men should be cautious how they raise Objections, which reflect upon the Wisdom of the Nation. Is not every Body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaseth; and to publish his Belief to the World whenever he thinks fit; especially if it serve to strengthen the Party which is in the Right? Would any indifferent Foreigner, who should read the Trumpery lately written by *Asgill*, *Tindall*, *Toland*, *Coward*, and Forty more, imagine the Gospel to be our Rule of Faith, and confirmed by Parliaments. Does any Man either believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he believes one Syllable of the Matter? And is any Man worse received upon that Score; or does he find his Want of *Nominal* Faith a Disadvantage to him, in the Pursuit of any Civil, or Military Employment? What if there be an old dormant Statute or two against him? Are they not now obsolete, to a Degree, that *Empson* and *Dudley* themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in Execution?

It is likewise urged, that there are by Computation, in this

Kingdom, above Ten Thousand Parsons; whose Revenues added to those of my Lords the Bishops, would suffice to maintain, at least, two Hundred young Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure, and Free-thinking; Enemies to Priest-Craft, narrow Principles, Pedantry, and Prejudices; who might be an Ornament to the Court and Town: And then again, so great a Number of able (bodied) Divines might be a Recruit to our Fleet and Armies. This, indeed, appears to be a Consideration of some Weight: But then, on the other Side, several Things deserve to be considered likewise: As, First, Whether it may not be thought necessary, that in certain Tracts of Country, like what we call Parishes, there should be *one* Man at least, of Abilities to read and write. Then, it seems a wrong Computation, that the Revenues of the Church throughout this Island, would be large enough to maintain two Hundred young Gentlemen, or even Half that Number, after the present refined Way of Living; that is, to allow each of them such a Rent, as, in the modern Form of Speech, would make them *easy*. But still, there is in this Project a greater Mischief behind; and we ought to beware of the Woman's Folly, who killed the Hen, that every Morning laid her a Golden Egg. For, pray, what would become of the Race of Men in the next Age, if we had nothing to trust to, besides the scrophulous consumptive Productions furnished by our Men of Wit and Pleasure; when having squandred away their Vigour, Health, and Estates; they are forced, by some disagreeable Marriage, to piece up their broken Fortunes, and entail Rottenness and Politeness on their Posterity? Now, here are ten Thousand Persons reduced by the wise Regulations of *Henry* the Eighth, to the Necessity of a low Diet, and moderate Exercise, who are the only great Restorers of our Breed; without which, the Nation would, in an Age or two, become but one great Hospital.

ANOTHER Advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, is, the clear Gain of one Day in Seven, which is now



entirely lost, and consequently the Kingdom one Seventh less considerable in Trade, Business, and Pleasure; beside the Loss to the Publick of so many Stately Structures now in the Hands of the Clergy; which might be converted into Theatres, Exchanges, Market-houses, common Dormitories, and other Publick Edifices.

I HOPE I shall be forgiven a hard Word, if I call this a perfect Cavil. I readily own there hath been an old Custom, Time out of Mind, for People to assemble in the Churches every *Sunday*, and that Shops are still frequently shut; in order, as it is conceived, to preserve the Memory of that antient Practice; but how this can prove a Hindrance to Business, or Pleasure, is hard to imagine. What if the Men of Pleasure are forced, one Day in the Week, to game at home instead of the *Chocolate-House*? Are not the *Taverns* and *Coffee-Houses* open? Can there be a more convenient Season for taking a Dose of Physick? Are fewer Claps got upon *Sundays* than other Days? Is not that the chief Day for Traders to Sum up the Accounts of the Week; and for Lawyers to prepare their Briefs? But I would fain know how it can be pretended, that the Churches are misapplied. Where are more Appointments and Rendezvouzes of Gallantry? Where more Care to appear in the foremost Box with greater Advantage of Dress? Where more Meetings for Business? Where more Bargains driven of all sorts? And where so many Conveniences, or Incitements to sleep?

THERE is one Advantage, greater than any of the foregoing, proposed by the abolishing of Christianity; that it will utterly extinguish Parties among us, by removing those factious Distinctions of High and Low Church, of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Presbyterian* and *Church-of-England*; which are now so many grievous Clogs upon publick Proceedings, and dispose Men to prefer the gratifying themselves, or depressing their Adversaries, before the most important Interest of the State.

I CONFESS, if it were certain that so great an Advantage would redound to the Nation by this Expedient, I would submit and be silent: But, will any Man say, that if the Words *Whoring, Drinking, Cheating, Lying, Stealing*, were, by Act of Parliament, ejected out of the *English* Tongue and Dictionaries; we should all awake next Morning chaste and temperate, honest and just, and Lovers of Truth. Is this a fair Consequence? Or if the Physicians would forbid us to pronounce the Words *Pox, Gout, Rheumatism, and Stone*; would that Expedient serve like so many *Talismans* to destroy the Diseases themselves? Are Party and Faction rooted in Mens Hearts no deeper than Phrases borrowed from Religion; or founded upon no firmer Principles? And is our Language so poor that we cannot find other Terms to express them? Are Envy, Pride, Avarice and Ambition, such ill Nomenclators, that they cannot furnish Appellations for their Owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamalukes, Mandarins, and Potshaws*, or any other Words formed at Pleasure, serve to distinguish those who are in the *Ministry* from others, who *would be in it if they could*? What, for Instance, is easier than to vary the Form of Speech; and instead of the Word *Church*, make it a Question in Politicks, Whether the *Monument* be in Danger? Because Religion was nearest at hand to furnish a few convenient Phrases; is our Invention so barren, we can find no other? Suppose, for Argument Sake, that the *Tories* favoured *Margarita*, the *Whigs* Mrs. *Tofts*, and the *Trimmers* *Valentini*; would not *Margaritians, Toftians, and Valentinians*, be very tolerable Marks of Distinction? The *Prasini* and *Veneti*, two most virulent Factions in *Italy*, began (if I remember right) by a Distinction of Colours in Ribbons; which we might do, with as good a Grace, about the Dignity of the *Blue* and the *Green*; and would serve as properly to divide the Court, the Parliament, and the Kingdom between them, as any Terms of Art whatsoever, borrowed from Religion. Therefore, I think there is little Force



in this Objection against *Christianity*; or Prospect of so great an Advantage as is proposed in the Abolishing of it.

It is again objected, as a very absurd, ridiculous Custom, that a Set of Men should be suffered, much less employed, and hired to bawl one Day in Seven, against the Lawfulness of those Methods most in Use towards the Pursuit of Greatness, Riches, and Pleasure; which are the constant Practice of all Men alive on the other Six. But this Objection is, I think, a little unworthy so refined an Age as ours. Let us argue this Matter calmly. I appeal to the Breast of any polite Free-Thinker, whether in the Pursuit of gratifying a predominant Passion, he hath not always felt a wonderful Incitement, by reflecting it was a Thing forbidden: And therefore we see, in order to cultivate this Taste, the Wisdom of the Nation hath taken special Care, that the Ladies should be furnished with prohibited Silks, and the Men with prohibited Wine: And, indeed, it were to be wished, that some other Prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the Pleasures of the Town; which, for want of such Expedients, begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid; giving way daily to cruel Inroads from the Spleen.

It is likewise proposed, as a great Advantage to the Publick, that if we once discard the System of the Gospel, all Religion will, of Course, be banished for ever; and consequently along with it, those grievous Prejudices of Education; which, under the Names of Virtue, Conscience, Honour, Justice, and the like, are so apt to disturb the Peace of human Minds; and the Notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated by right Reason or Free-thinking, sometimes during the whole Course of our Lives.

HERE, first, I observe how difficult it is to get rid of a Phrase, which the World is once grown fond of, although the Occasion that first produced it, be entirely taken away. For several Years past, if a Man had but an ill-favoured Nose, the Deep-Thinkers

of the Age would, some way or other, contrive to impute the Cause to the Prejudice of his Education. From this Fountain are said to be derived all our foolish Notions of Justice, Piety, Love of our Country; all our Opinions of God, or a future State, Heaven, Hell and the like: And there might formerly, perhaps, have been some Pretence for this Charge. But so effectual Care hath been since taken, to remove those Prejudices by an entire Change in the Methods of Education; that (with Honour I mention it to our polite Innovators) the young Gentlemen, who are now on the Scene, seem to have not the least Tincture left of those Infusions, or String of those Weeds; and, by Consequence, the Reason for abolishing *Nominal* Christianity upon that Pretext, is wholly ceased.

FOR the rest, it may perhaps admit a Controversy, whether the Banishing all Notions of Religion whatsoever, would be convenient for the Vulgar. Not that I am, in the least of Opinion with those, who hold Religion to have been the Invention of Politicians, to keep the lower Part of the World in Awe, by the Fear of invisible Powers; unless Mankind were then very different from what it is now: For I look upon the Mass, or Body of our People here in *England*, to be as Free-Thinkers, that is to say, as stanch Unbelievers, as any of the highest Rank. But I conceive some scattered Notions about a superior Power to be of singular Use for the common People, as furnishing excellent Materials to keep Children quiet, when they grow peevish; and providing Topicks of Amusement in a tedious Winter Night.

LASTLY, It is proposed as a singular Advantage, that the Abolishing of Christianity, will very much contribute to the uniting of *Protestants*, by enlarging the Terms of Communion, so as to take in all sorts of *Dissenters*; who are now shut out of the Pale upon Account of a few Ceremonies, which all Sides confess to be Things indifferent: That this alone will effectually answer the great Ends of a Scheme for Comprehension, by



opening a large noble Gate, at which all Bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *Dissenters*, and dodging about this or the other Ceremony, is but like opening a few Wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a Time, and that not without stooping and sideling, and squeezing his Body.

To all this I answer: That there is one darling Inclination of Mankind, which usually affects to be a Retainer to Religion, although she be neither its Parent, its God-mother, or its Friend; I mean the Spirit of Opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for Instance, examine wherein the Opposition of Sectaries among us consists; we shall find Christianity to have no Share in it at all. Does the Gospel any where prescribe a starched squeezed Countenance, a stiff formal Gait, a Singularity of Manners and Habit, or any affected Modes of Speech, different from the reasonable Part of Mankind? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its Name, to stand in the Gap, and to employ or divert these Humors, they must of Necessity be spent in Contraventions to the Laws of the Land, and Disturbance of the publick Peace. There is a Portion of Enthusiasm assigned to every Nation, which if it hath not proper Objects to work on, will burst out, and set all in a Flame. If the Quiet of a State can be bought by only flinging Men a few Ceremonies to devour, it is a Purchase no wise Man would refuse. Let the Mastiffs amuse themselves about a Sheep-skin stuffed with Hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the Flock. The Institution of Convents abroad, seems in one Point a Strain of great Wisdom; there being few Irregularities in human Passions, that may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those Orders; which are so many Retreats for the Speculative, the Melancholy, the Proud, the Silent, the Politick and the Morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the noxious Particles; for each of whom, we in this Island are forced to provide a several Sect of Reli-

gion, to keep them quiet. And whenever Christianity shall be abolished, the Legislature must find some other Expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it, how large a Gate you open, if there will be always left a Number, who place a Pride and a Merit in refusing to enter?

HAVING thus considered the most important Objections against Christianity, and the chief Advantages proposed by the Abolishing thereof; I shall now with equal Deference and Submission to wiser Judgments as before, proceed to mention a few Inconveniences that may happen, if the Gospel should be repealed; which perhaps the Projectors may not have sufficiently considered.

AND first, I am very sensible how much the Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure are apt to murmur, and be choqued at the Sight of so many daggled-tail Parsons, who happen to fall in their Way, and offend their Eyes: But at the same Time these wise Reformers do not consider what an Advantage and Felicity it is, for great Wits to be always provided with Objects of Scorn and Contempt, in order to exercise and improve their Talents, and divert their Spleen from falling on each other, or on themselves; especially when all this may be done without the least imaginable *Danger to their Persons*.

AND to urge another Argument of a parallel Nature: If Christianity were once abolished, how could the Free-Thinkers, the strong Reasoners, and the Men of profound Learning be able to find another Subject so calculated in all Points whereon to display their Abilities. What wonderful Productions of Wit should we be deprived of, from those whose Genius by continual Practice hath been wholly turn'd upon Raillery and Invectives against Religion; and would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves upon any other Subject. We are daily complaining of the great Decline of Wit among us; and would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only Topick we have left? Who would ever have suspected *Asgill* for a Wit,



or *Toland* for a Philosopher, if the inexhaustible Stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with Materials? What other Subject through all Art or Nature could have produced *Tindal* for a profound Author, or furnished him with Readers? It is the wise Choice of the Subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the Writer. For had a hundred such Pens as these been employed on the Side of Religion, they would have immediately sunk into Silence and Oblivion.

NOR do I think it wholly groundless, or my Fears altogether imaginary; that the Abolishing of Christianity may perhaps bring the Church in Danger; or at least put the Senate to the Trouble of another Securing Vote. I desire, I may not be mistaken; I am far from presuming to affirm or think, that the Church is in Danger at present, or as Things now stand; but we know not how soon it may be so, when the Christian Religion is repealed. As plausible as this Project seems, there may a dangerous Design lurk under it. Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Atheists*, *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Sub-divisions of Free-Thinkers, are Persons of little Zeal for the present Ecclesiastical Establishment: Their declared Opinion is for repealing the Sacramental Test; they are very indifferent with regard to Ceremonies; nor do they hold the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy. Therefore this may be intended as one politick Step towards altering the Constitution of the Church Established, and setting up *Presbytery* in the stead; which I leave to be further considered by those at the Helm.

IN the last Place, I think nothing can be more plain, than that by this Expedient, we shall run into the Evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the Abolishment of the Christian Religion, will be the readiest Course we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this Opinion, because we know it hath been the constant Practice of the *Jesuits* to send over Emissaries, with Instructions to personate themselves Members of the several prevailing Sects amongst us. So it is

recorded, that they have at sundry Times appeared in the Guise of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents* and *Quakers*, according as any of these were most in Credit; So, since the Fashion hath been taken up of exploding Religion, the *Popish* Missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the Free-Thinkers; among whom, *Toland*, the great Oracle of the *Anti-Christians*, is an *Irish* Priest, the Son of an *Irish* Priest; and the most learned and ingenious Author of a Book, called the *Rights of the Christian Church*, was, in a proper Juncture, reconciled to the *Romish* Faith; whose true Son, as appears by an Hundred Passages in his Treatise, he still continues. Perhaps I could add some others to the Number; but the Fact is beyond Dispute; and the Reasoning they proceed by, is right: For, supposing Christianity to be extinguished, the People will never be at Ease, till they find out some other Method of Worship; which will as infallibly produce Superstition, as this will end in *Popery*.

AND therefore, if, notwithstanding all I have said, it shall still be thought necessary to have a Bill brought in for repealing Christianity; I would humbly offer an Amendment, that instead of the Word *Christianity*, may be put *Religion* in general; which I conceive, will much better answer all the good Ends proposed by the Projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in Being a God, and his Providence, with all the necessary Consequences, which curious and inquisitive Men will be apt to draw from such Premises; we do not strike at the Root of the Evil, though we should ever so effectually annihilate the present Scheme of the Gospel. For, of what Use is Freedom of Thought, if it will not produce Freedom of Action; which is the sole End, how remote soever, in Appearance, of all Objections against Christianity? And therefore, the Free-Thinkers consider it as a Sort of Edifice, wherein all the Parts have such a mutual Dependence on each other, that if you happen to pull out one single Nail, the whole Fabrick must fall to the Ground. This was happily expressed by him, who had heard of a Text



brought for Proof of the Trinity, which in an antient Manuscript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the Hint, and by a sudden Deduction of a long *Sorites*, most logically concluded; Why, if it be as you say, I may safely whore and drink on, and defy the Parson. From which, and many the like Instances easy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifest, than that the Quarrel is not against any particular Points of hard Digestion in the Christian System; but against Religion in general; which, by laying Restraints on human Nature, is supposed the great Enemy to the Freedom of Thought and Action.

UPON the whole; if it shall still be thought for the Benefit of Church and State, that Christianity be abolished; I conceive, however, it may be more convenient to defer the Execution to a Time of Peace; and not venture in this Conjunction to disoblige our Allies; who, as it falls out, are all Christians; and many of them, by the Prejudices of their Education, so bigotted, as to place a Sort of Pride in the Appellation. If, upon being rejected by them, we are to trust to an Alliance with the *Turk*, we shall find our selves much deceived: For, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in War with the *Persian* Emperor; so his People would be more scandalized at our Infidelity, than our Christian Neighbours. Because, the *Turks* are not only strict Observers of religious Worship; but, what is worse, believe a God; which is more than is required of us, even while we preserve the Name of Christians.

To conclude: Whatever some may think of the great Advantages to Trade, by this favourite Scheme; I do very much apprehend, that in six Months Time, after the Act is past for the Extirpation of the Gospel, the Bank and *East India* Stock may fall, at least, One *per Cent*. And, since that is Fifty Times more than ever the Wisdom of our Age thought fit to venture for the *Preservation* of Christianity, there is no Reason we should be at so great a Loss, meerly for the Sake of *destroying* it.

## ENGLISH POLITICS

VERSES *said to be written on the* UNION

THE Queen has lately lost a Part  
Of her entirely-*English* Heart,  
For want of which by way of Botch,  
She piec'd it up again with *Scotch*.  
Blest Revolution, which creates  
Divided Hearts, united States.  
See how the double Nation lies;  
Like a rich Coat with Skirts of Frize:  
As if a Man in making Posies  
Should bundle Thistles up with Roses.  
Whoever yet a Union saw  
Of Kingdoms, without Faith or Law.  
Henceforward let no Statesman dare,  
A Kingdom to a Ship compare;  
Lest he should call our Commonweal,  
A Vessel with a double Keel:  
Which just like ours, new rigg'd and man'd,  
And got about a League from Land,  
By change of Wind to Leeward Side  
The Pilot knew not how to guide.  
So tossing Faction will o'erwhelm  
Our crazy double-bottom'd Realm.



## THE EXAMINER

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 No. 14. *Thursday, November 9, 1710.*


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*E quibus hi vacuas implent Sermonibus aures,  
 Hi narrata ferunt alio: mensuraque ficti  
 Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor,  
 Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,  
 Vanaque Lætitia est, consternatique Timores,  
 Seditioque recens, dubioque autore susurri.*

I AM prevailed on, through the Importunity of Friends, to interrupt the Scheme I had begun in my last Paper, by an Essay upon the Art of *Political Lying*. We are told, *The Devil is the Father of Lyes*, and *was a Lyar from the beginning*; so that, beyond Contradiction, the Invention is old: And, which is more, his first Essay of it was purely *Political*, employed in undermining the Authority of his Prince, and seducing a third Part of the Subjects from their Obedience. For which he was driven down from Heaven, where (as *Milton* expresseth it) he had been VICE-ROY of a great *Western Province*; and forced to exercise his Talent in inferior Regions among *other fallen Spirits*, or *poor deluded Men*, whom he still daily tempts to *his own Sin*, and will ever do so till he be *chained in the bottomless Pit*.

BUT although the Devil be the Father of *Lyes*, he seems, like other great Inventors, to have lost much of his Reputation, by the continual Improvements that have been made upon him.

WHO first reduced *Lying* into an Art, and adapted it to *Politicks*, is not so clear from History; although I have made some diligent Enquiries: I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern System, as it hath been cultivated these twenty Years past in the Southern Part of our own Island.

THE Poets tell us, That after the Giants were overthrown by the Gods, the *Earth* in revenge produced her last Offspring, which was *Fame*. And the Fable is thus interpreted; That when Tumults and Seditions are quieted, Rumours and false Reports are plentifully spread through a Nation. So that by this Account, *Lying* is the last Relief of a *routed, earth-born, rebellious Party* in a State. But here, the Moderns have made great Additions, applying this Art to the gaining of Power, and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it: As the same Instruments are made use of by Animals to feed themselves when they are hungry, and bite those that tread upon them.

BUT the same Genealogy cannot always be admitted for *Political Lying*; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some Circumstances of its Birth and Parents. A *Political Lye* is sometimes born out of a discarded Statesman's Head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled by the *Rabble*. Sometimes it is produced a Monster, and *licked* into Shape; at other Times it comes into the World compleatly formed, and is spoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an Infant in the regular Way, and requires Time to mature it: And often it sees the Light in its full Growth, but dwindles away by Degrees. Sometimes it is of noble Birth; and sometimes the Spawn of a *Stock-jobber*. *Here*, it screams aloud at opening the Womb; and *there*, it is delivered with a *Whisper*. I know a *Lye* that now disturbs half the Kingdom with its Noise, which although too proud and great at present to own its Parents, I can remember in its *Whisper-hood*. To conclude the Nativity of this Monster; when it comes into the World without a *Sting*, it is still-born; and whenever it loses its *Sting*, it dies.

No Wonder, if an Infant so miraculous in its Birth, should be destined for great Adventures: And accordingly we see it hath been the *Guardian Spirit* of a *prevailing Party* for almost twenty Years. It can conquer Kingdoms without Fighting,



and sometimes with the Loss of a Battle: It gives and resumes Employments; can sink a Mountain to a Mole-hill, and raise a Mole-hill to a Mountain; hath presided for many Years at Committees of Elections; can wash a *Black-a-moor* white; make a Saint of an Atheist, and a Patriot of a Profligate; can furnish *Foreign Ministers* with Intelligence; and raise or let fall the Credit of the Nation. This Goddess flies with a huge *Looking-glass* in her Hands to dazzle the Crowd, and make them see, according as she turns it, their Ruin in their Interest, and their Interest in their Ruin. In this Glass you will behold your best Friends clad in Coats powdered with *Flower-de-Luce's* and *Triple Crowns*; their Girdles hung round with *Chains*, and *Beads*, and *Wooden Shoes*: And your worst Enemies adorned with the Ensigns of *Liberty*, *Property*, *Indulgence*, *Moderation*, and a *Cornucopia* in their Hands. Her large Wings, like those of a flying Fish, are of no Use but while they are moist; she therefore dips them in *Mud*, and soaring aloft scatters it in the Eyes of the Multitude, flying with great Swiftmess; but at every Turn is forced to stoop in *dirty Ways* for new Supplies.

I HAVE been sometimes thinking, if a Man had the Art of the *Second Sight* for seeing *Lyes*, as they have in *Scotland* for seeing Spirits; how admirably he might entertain himself in this Town; to observe the different Shapes, Sizes, and Colours, of those Swarms of *Lyes* which buz about the Heads of *some People*, like Flies about a Horse's Ears in Summer: Or those Legions hovering every Afternoon in *Exchange-Alley*, enough to darken the Air; or over a Club of discontented *Grande'es*, and thence sent down in Cargoes to be scattered at Elections.

THERE is one essential Point wherein a *Political Lyar* differs from others of the Faculty; That he ought to have but a short Memory, which is necessary according to the various Occasions he meets with every Hour, of differing from himself, and swearing to both Sides of a Contradiction, as he finds the Persons disposed, with whom he hath to deal. In describing the

Virtues and Vices of Mankind, it is convenient, upon every Article, to have some eminent Person in our Eye, from whence we copy our Description. I have strictly observed this Rule; and my Imagination this Minute represents before me a certain *Great Man* famous for this Talent, to the constant Practice of which he owes his twenty Years Reputation of the most skillful Head in *England*, for the Management of nice Affairs. The Superiority of his Genius consists in nothing else but an inexhaustible Fund of *Political Lyes*, which he plentifully distributes every Minute he speaks, and by an unparalleled Generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts the next half Hour. He never yet considered whether any Proposition were True or False, but whether it were convenient for the present Minute or Company to affirm or deny it; so that if you think to refine upon him, by interpreting every Thing he says, as we do Dreams by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived, whether you believe or no: The only Remedy is to suppose that you have heard some inarticulate Sounds, without any Meaning at all. And besides, that will take off the Horror you might be apt to conceive at the Oaths wherewith he perpetually Tags both ends of every *Proposition*: Although at the same Time, I think, he cannot with any Justice be taxed for Perjury, when he invokes *God* and *Christ*; because he hath often fairly given publick Notice to the World, that he believes in neither.

SOME People may think that such an Accomplishment as this, can be of no great Use to the Owner or his Party, after it hath been often practised, and is become notorious; but they are widely mistaken: Few *Lyes* carry the Inventor's Mark; and the most prostitute Enemy to Truth may spread a thousand without being known for the Author. Besides, as the vilest Writer hath his Readers, so the greatest *Lyar* hath his Believers; and it often happens, that if a *Lye* be believed only for an Hour, it hath done its Work, and there is no farther Occasion



for it. *Falshood flies*, and *Truth* comes *limping* after it; so that when Men come to be undeceived, it is too late, the Jest is over, and the Tale has had its Effect: Like a Man who has thought of a good Repartee, when the Discourse is changed, or the Company parted: Or, like a Physician who hath found out an infallible Medicine after the Patient is dead.

CONSIDERING that natural Disposition in many Men to *Lye*, and in Multitudes to *Believe*; I have been perplexed what to do with that Maxim, so frequent in every Bodies Mouth, That *Truth will at last prevail*. Here, has this Island of ours, for the greatest Part of twenty Years lain under the Influence of such Counsels and Persons, whose Principle and Interest it was to corrupt our Manners, blind our Understandings, drain our Wealth, and in Time destroy our Constitution both in Church and State; and we at last were brought to the very Brink of Ruin; yet by the Means of perpetual Representations, have never been able to distinguish between our Enemies and Friends. We have seen a great Part of the Nation's Money got into the Hands of those, who by their Birth, Education and Merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our Liveries. While others, who by their Credit, Quality and Fortune, were only able to give Reputation and Success to the Revolution, were not only laid aside, as dangerous and useless; but loaden with the Scandal of *Jacobites*, Men of *Arbitrary Principles*, and *Pensioners* to *France*; while Truth, who is said to *lie in a Well*, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of Stones. But I remember it was a usual Complaint among the *Whigs*, that the Bulk of Landed-Men was not in their Interests, which some of the Wisest looked on as an ill Omen; and we saw it was with the utmost Difficulty that they could preserve a Majority, while the Court and Ministry were on their Side; till they had learned those admirable Expedients for deciding Elections, and influencing distant Boroughs, by *powerful Motives* from the City. But all this was meer Force and Constraint, however up-

held by most dextrous Artifice and Management; until the People began to apprehend their *Properties*, their *Religion*, and the *Monarchy* itself in Danger; then we saw them greedily laying hold the on first Occasion to interpose. But of this mighty Change in the Dispositions of the People, I shall discourse more at large in some following Paper; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding Persons, who hope or pretend, it is only a short Madness in the Vulgar, from which they may soon recover. Whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its Causes, its Symptoms, and its Consequences; and prove a great Example to illustrate the Maxim I lately mentioned, That *Truth* (however sometimes late) *will at last prevail*.

THE  
CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES,  
AND OF THE *Late* MINISTRY,  
IN  
Beginning and carrying on  
THE  
PRESENT WAR,  
etc.

THE PREFACE

**I** Cannot sufficiently admire the Industry of a sort of Men, wholly out of Favour with the Prince and People, and openly professing a separate Interest from the Bulk of the Landed Men, who yet are able to raise, at this Juncture, so great a Clamour against a Peace, without offering one single Reason, but what we find in their Ballads. I lay it down for a Maxim, That no reasonable Man, whether Whig or Tory (since it is necessary to use those foolish Terms)



*can be of Opinion for continuing the War, upon the Foot it now is, unless he be a Gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new Turn of Affairs at home, to the Advantage of his Party; or lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the Kingdom's Condition, and by what Means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first Cases, where Interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: But as to the last, I think it highly necessary, that the Publick should be freely and impartially told what Circumstances they are in, after what Manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many Years with the Disposal of their Blood and Treasure, and what the Consequences of this Management are like to be upon themselves and their Posterity.*

*Those who, either by Writing or Discourse, have undertaken to defend the Proceedings of the late Ministry, in the Management of the War, and of the Treaty at Gertruydenburg, have spent time in celebrating the Conduct and Valour of our Leaders and their Troops, in summing up the Victories they have gained, and the Towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high Articles were insisted on by our Ministers and those of the Confederates, and what Pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least Satisfaction to the just Complaints of the Kingdom. As to the War, our Grievances are, That a greater Load has been laid on Us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest Impositions have been submitted to for the Advancement of private Wealth and Power, or in order to forward the more dangerous Designs of a Faction; to both which a Peace would have put an End; And that the Part of the War which was chiefly our Province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the Enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a Peace, We complain of being deluded by a MOCK TREATY; in which those who Negotiated, took Care to make such Demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with, and therefore might securely press every Article as if they were in earnest.*

*These are some of the Points I design to treat of in the following Discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary, at this*

*time, for the Kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those Facts I mention; at least not in any Circumstance so material, as to weaken the Consequences I draw from them.*

*After Ten Years Wars with perpetual Success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good Peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the World before, that a Man of any Party may be allowed suspecting that we have either been ill used, or have not made the most of our Victories, and might therefore desire to know where the Difficulty lay: Then it is natural to enquire into our present Condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this Rate; what the Consequences may be upon the present and future Ages; and whether a Peace, without that impracticable Point which some People do so much insist on, be really ruinous in it self, or equally so with the Continuance of the War.*

#### THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES, &c.

THE Motives that may engage a wise Prince or State in a War, I take to be one or more of these: Either to check the overgrown Power of some ambitious Neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from Them; to revenge some Injury They have received; (which all Political Casuists allow;) to assist some Ally in a just Quarrel; or lastly, to defend Themselves when They are invaded. In all these Cases, the Writers upon Politicks admit a War to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris & focis*; where no Expence or Endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently, our utmost Force to be exerted; and the Dispute is soon determined, either in Safety or utter Destruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found, that no Monarch or Commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain Degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the



Strength and Substance of their Country by Anticipations and Loans, which in a few Years must put them in a worse Condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those Evils, for the preventing of which, they first entred into the War: Because this would be to run into real infallible Ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable Speculation.

AND, as a War should be undertaken upon a just and prudent Motive, so it is still more obvious, that a Prince ought maturely to consider the Condition he is in when he enters on it; Whether his Coffers be full, his Revenues clear of Debts, his People numerous and rich by a long Peace and free Trade, not overpressed with many burthensome Taxes; No violent Faction ready to dispute his just Prerogative, and thereby weaken his Authority at home, and lessen his Reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his Case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the World's Quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with Honour and Safety.

SUPPOSING the War to have commenced upon a just Motive; the next Thing to be considered, is, when a Prince ought in Prudence to receive the Overtures of a Peace: Which I take to be, either when the Enemy is ready to yield the Point originally contended for, or when that Point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, although with Probability of gaining that Point at last, would put such a Prince and his People in a worse Condition than the present Loss of it. All which Considerations are of much greater Force, where a War is managed by an Alliance of many Confederates, which in the variety of Interests, among the several Parties, is liable to so many unforeseen Accidents.

In a Confederate War it ought to be considered, which Party has the deepest share in the Quarrel: For although each may have their particular Reasons, yet one or two among them will

probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the Burthen, in proportion to their Strength. For Example: Two Princes may be Competitors for a Kingdom, and it will be your Interest to take the Part of Him, who will probably allow you good Conditions of Trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that Prince whose Cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the Principal in that War, and You, properly speaking, are but a Second. Or a Commonwealth may lie in Danger to be over-run by a powerful Neighbour, which in time may produce very bad Consequences, upon your Trade and Liberty: It is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them Assistance, and help them to win a strong secure Frontier; but, as They must in course be the first and greatest Sufferers; so, in Justice, they ought to bear the greatest Weight. If a House be on fire, it behoves all in the Neighbourhood to run with Buckets to quench it; but the Owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible that those at next Door may escape, by a Shower from Heaven, or the stillness of the Weather, or some other favourable Accident.

BUT, if an Ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill Fortune of the War, be so generous, as to contribute more than the Principal Party, and even more in proportion to his Abilities, he ought at least to have his Share in what is conquered from the Enemy: Or, if his Romantick Disposition transport him so far, as to expect little or nothing from this, he might, however hope, that the Principals would make it up in Dignity and Respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his Domestick Affairs, prescribing what Servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable Demands, and at every turn threatening to break the Alliance if he will not comply.

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BUT if all this be true: If, according to what I have affirmed, we began this War contrary to Reason: If, as the other Party themselves, upon all Occasions, acknowledge, the Success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect: If, after all our Success, we have not made that Use of it, which in Reason we ought to have done: If, we have made weak and foolish Bargains with our Allies; suffered them tamely to break every Article, even in those Bargains to our Disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with Insolence and Contempt, at the very Instant when we were gaining Towns, Provinces, and Kingdoms for them, at the Price of our Ruin, and without any Prospect of Interest to our selves: If we have consumed all our Strength in attacking the Enemy on the strongest Side, where (as the old Duke of *Schomberg* expressed it) *to engage with France, was to take a Bull by the Horns*; and left wholly unattempted, that Part of the War, which could only enable us to continue, or to end It. If all this, I say, be our Case, it is a very obvious Question to ask; by what Motives, or what Management, we are thus become the *Dupes* and *Bubbles* of *Europe*? Sure it cannot be owing to the Stupidity arising from the Coldness of our Climate; since those among our Allies, who have given us most Reason to complain, are as far removed from the Sun as our selves.

IF in laying open the real Causes of our present Misery, I am forced to speak with some Freedom, I think it will require no Apology. Reputation is the smallest Sacrifice Those can make us, who have been the Instruments of our Ruin; because it is That, for which in all Probability they have the least Value. So that in exposing the Actions of such Persons, it cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an Injury. But, as it will be some Satisfaction to our People, to know by whom they have been so long abused; so it may be of great Use to us and our Posterity, not to trust the Safety of their Country in the Hands of those, who act by such Principles, and from such Motives.

I HAVE already observed, that when the Counsels of this War were debated in the late King's Time, a certain *Great Man* was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his Employment, and tell the King he could serve him no longer. Upon that Prince's Death, although the Grounds of our Quarrel with *France* had received no Manner of Addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his Sentiments; for the Scene was quite changed; his Lordship, and the Family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an Alliance, were in the highest Credit possible with the Queen: The Treasurer's Staff was ready for his Lordship; the Duke was to command the Army, and the Dutchess by her Employments, and the Favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest Her Majesty's Person; by which the whole Power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that Family. This was a Prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the Truth, it could not be easily withstood by any who have so keen an Appetite for Wealth or Power. By an Agreement subsequent to the Grand Alliance, we were to assist the *Dutch* with forty thousand Men, all to be commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*. So that whether this War were prudently begun or not, it is plain, that the true Spring or Motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular Family; and in short, a War of the *General* and the *Ministry*, and not of the *Prince* or *People*; since those very Persons were against it when they knew the Power, and consequently the Profit, would be in other Hands.

WITH these Measures fell in all that Set of People, who are called the *Monied Men*; such as had raised vast Sums by Trading with Stocks and Funds, and Lending upon great Interest and Præmiums; whose perpetual Harvest is War, and whose beneficial way of Traffick must very much decline by a Peace.

IN that whole Chain of Encroachments made upon us by the *Dutch*, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross Impositions from other Princes; if any one should ask,



why our General continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable to account for it, as by that unmeasureable Love of Wealth, which his best Friends allow to be his predominant Passion. However, I shall wave any thing that is Personal upon this Subject. I shall say nothing of those great Presents made by several Princes, which the Soldiers used to call Winter-Foraging, and said it was better than that of the Summer; of Two and an half *per Cent.* substracted out of all the Subsidies we pay in those Parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable Sum: And lastly, of the grand Perquisites in a long successful War, which are so amicably adjusted between Him and the *States*.

BUT when the War was thus begun, there soon fell in other Incidents here at home, which made the Continuance of it necessary for those, who were the chief Advisers. The *Whigs* were at that time out of all Credit or Consideration: The reigning Favourites had always carried what was called the *Tory Principles*, at least as high, as our Constitution could bear; and most others in great Employments, were wholly in the Church-Interest. These last, among whom several [were] Persons of the greatest Merit, Quality, and Consequence, were not able to endure the many Instances of Pride, Insolence, Avarice and Ambition, which those Favourites began so early to discover; nor to see them presuming to be the sole Dispensers of the Royal Favour. However, their Opposition was to no Purpose; they wrestled with too great a Power, and were soon crushed under it. For, those in Possession finding they could never be quiet in their Usurpations, while others had any Credit, who were at least upon an equal Foot of Merit, began to make Overtures to the discarded *Whigs*, who would be content with any Terms of Accommodation. Thus commenced this *Solemn League and Covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much Application. The great Traders in Money were wholly devoted to the *Whigs*, who had first raised them. The

Army, the Court, and the Treasury, continued under the old *Despotick* Administration: The *Whigs* were received into Employment, left to manage the Parliament, cry down the Landed Interest, and worry the Church. Mean time, our Allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial Structure had no true Foundation in the Hearts of the People, resolved to make their best use of it, as long as it should last. And the General's Credit being raised to a great Height at home by our Success in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* began their gradual Impositions; lessening their Quotas, breaking their Stipulations, garrisoning the Towns we took for them, without supplying their Troops; with many other Infringements: All which we were forced to submit to, because the General was *made easy*; because the Monied Men at home were fond of the War; because the *Whigs* were not yet firmly settled; and because that exorbitant Degree of Power, which was built upon a supposed Necessity of employing particular Persons, would go off in a Peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor, and other Princes, followed the Example of the *Dutch*, and succeeded as well, for the same Reasons.

I HAVE here imputed the Continuance of the War to the mutual Indulgence between our General and Allies, wherein they both so well found their Accounts; to the Fears of the *Money-changers*, lest their *Tables should be overthrown*; to the Designs of the *Whigs*, who apprehended the Loss of their Credit and Employments in a Peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate Engrossments of Power and Favour, by no other Tenure, than their own Presumption upon the Necessity of Affairs. The Truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what Unanimity and Concert these several Parties acted towards that great End.

WHEN the Vote passed in the House of Lords, against any Peace without *Spain* being restored to the *Austrian* Family; the Earl of *Wharton* told the House, That it was indeed impossible



and impracticable to recover *Spain*; but however, there were *certain Reasons*, why such a Vote should be made at that time; which Reasons wanted no Explanation: For, the General and the Ministry having refused to accept very advantageous Offers of a Peace, after the Battle of *Ramellies*, were forced to take in a Set of Men, with a previous Bargain, to skreen them from the Consequences of that Miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding Opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of *Denmark's* Death, the Chief Leaders of the Party were brought into several great Employments.

THUS, when the Queen was no longer able to bear the Tyranny and Insolence of those ungrateful Servants, who as they *waxed the Fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great Allies abroad, and our Stock-jobbers at home, took immediate Alarm; applied the nearest way to the Throne, by Memorials and Messages, jointly directing Her Majesty not to change Her Secretary or Treasurer; who for the true Reasons that these officious Intermedlers demanded their Continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least Degree of Trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the Interest of their Native Country, to those Princes, who in their Turns, were to do what they could to support Them in Power at home.

THUS it plainly appears, that there was a Conspiracy on all sides to go on with those Measures, which must perpetuate the War; and a Conspiracy founded upon the Interest and Ambition of each Party; which begat so firm a Union, that instead of Wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think, how it came to be broken. The Prudence, Courage, and Firmness of Her Majesty in all the Steps of that great Change, would, if the Particulars were truly related, make a very shining Part in Her Story: Nor is Her Judgment less to be admired, which directed Her in the Choice of perhaps the only Persons who had Skill, Credit and Resolution enough to be Her Instruments in overthrowing so many Difficulties.

SOME would pretend to lessen the Merit of this, by telling us, that the Rudeness, the Tyranny, the Oppression, the Ingratitude of the late Favourites towards their Mistress, were no longer to be born. They produce Instances to shew, how Her Majesty was pursued through all Her Retreats, particularly at *Windsor*; where, after the Enemy had possessed themselves of every Inch of Ground, they at last attacked and stormed the Castle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining Cottage, pursuant to the Advice of *Solomon*, who tells us, *It is better to live on the House Tops, than with a scolding Woman in a large House*. They would have it, that such continued ill Usage was enough to inflame the meekest Spirit: They blame the Favourites in point of Policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen should be at an End of Her Patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another Opinion, and think their Proceedings were right. For, nothing is so apt to break even the bravest Spirits, as a continual Chain of Oppressions: One Injury is best defended by a Second, and this by a third. By these Steps, the old *Masters of the Palace* in *France* became *Masters of the Kingdom*; and by these Steps, a *General during Pleasure*, might have grown into a *General for Life*, and a *General for Life* into a *King*. So that I still insist upon it as a Wonder, how her Majesty, thus besieged on all Sides, was able to extricate Herself.

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### THE FABLE OF *MIDAS*

**M***IDAS*, we are in Story told,  
 Turn'd ev'ry Thing he touch't to *Gold*:  
 He *chip't* his *Bread*; the Pieces round  
 Glitter'd like Spangles on the Ground:



A Codling e'er it went his Lip in,  
 Would strait become a *Golden Pippin*:  
 He call'd for Drink; you saw him sup  
*Potable Gold* in *Golden Cup*.  
 His empty Paunch that he might fill,  
 He suck't his Vittels thro' a Quill;  
 Untouch't it pass't between his Grinders,  
 Or't had been happy for *Gold-finders*.  
 He cock't his Hat, you would have said  
*Mambrino's* Helm adorn'd his Head.  
 Whene'er he chanc'd his Hands to lay  
 On Magazines of *Corn*, or *Hay*,  
*Gold* ready coin'd appear'd, instead  
 Of paultry *Provender* and *Bread*:  
 Hence we are by wise Farmers told,  
*Old Hay is equal to old Gold*;  
 And hence a Critick deep maintains,  
 We learn't to weigh our *Gold* by *Grains*.

THIS *Fool* had got a *lucky Hit*,  
 And People fancy'd he had *Wit*:  
 Two Gods their Skill in Musick try'd,  
 And both chose *Midas* to decide;  
 He against *Phebus* Harp decreed,  
 And gave it for *Pan's* Oaten Reed:  
 The God of Wit to shew his Grudge,  
 Clap't *Asses* Ears upon the Judge;  
 A goodly Pair, erect and wide,  
 Which he could neither *gild* nor hide.

AND now the Virtue of his *Hands*,  
 Was lost among *Pactolus* Sands,  
 Against whose Torrent while he swims,  
 The *Golden Scurf* peels off his Limbs:

Fame spreads the News, and People travel  
 From far, to gather *golden* Gravel;  
*Midas*, expos'd to all their Jears,  
 Had lost his *Art*, and kept his *Ears*.

THIS Tale inclines the gentle Reader,  
 To think upon a certain *Leader*;  
 To whom, from *Midas* down, descends  
 That Virtue in the Fingers Ends:  
 What else by *Perquisites* are meant,  
 By *Pensions*, *Bribes*, and *Three per Cent*?  
 By *Places* and *Commissions* sold;  
 And turning *Dung* it self to *Gold*?  
 By starving in the Midst of Store,  
 As t'other *Midas* did before?

NONE e'er did modern *Midas* chuse,  
 Subject or Patron of his Muse,  
 But found him thus their Merit scan,  
 That *Phebus* must give Place to *Pan*:  
 He values not the Poet's Praise,  
 Nor will exchange his *Plumbs* for *Bays*:  
 To *Pan* alone rich Misers call,  
 And there's the Jest, for *Pan* is *ALL*:  
 Here *English* Wits will be to seek,  
 Howe'er, 'tis *all one in the Greek*.

BESIDES, it plainly now appears,  
 Our *Midas* too has *Asses* Ears;  
 Where every Fool his Mouth applies,  
 And whispers in a Thousand Lies;  
 Such gross Delusions could not pass,  
 Thro' any Ears but of an *Ass*.



BUT *Gold* defiles with frequent Touch;  
 There's nothing *fouls* the Hands so much:  
 And Scholars give it for the Cause,  
 Of *British Midas* dirty Paws;  
 Which while the *Senate* strove to scower,  
 They wash't away the *Chymick* Power.  
 While he his utmost Strength apply'd,  
 To swim against this *pop'lar Tide*,  
 The *golden* Spoils flew off apace;  
 Here fell a *Pension*, there a *Place*:  
 The *Torrent*, merciless, imbibes  
*Commissions, Perquisites, and Bribes*;  
 By their own Weight sunk to the Bottom;  
*Much Good may do 'em, that have caught 'um.*  
 And *Midas* now neglected stands,  
 With *Asses Ears*, and *dirty Hands*.

THE  
 FIRST ODE  
 OF THE  
 SECOND BOOK OF *HORACE*  
 PARAPHRAS'D:

AND  
 Address'd to *Richard St — — le*, Esq;

DICK, thour't resolv'd, as I am told,  
 Some strange *Arcana* to unfold,  
 And with the help of *Buckley's* Pen  
 To vamp the *good Old Cause* again,  
 Which thou (such *Bur[ne]t's* shrewd Advice is)  
 Must furbish up and Nickname *CRISIS*.  
 Thou pompously wilt let us know  
 What all the World knew long ago,

(Ere since Sir *William G[or]e* was May'r,  
 And *HAR[LE]Y* fill'd the *Commons* Chair)  
 That we a *German* Prince must own  
 When *A[N]N* for Heav'n resigns Her Throne.  
 But more than that, thou'lt keep a rout  
 With—who is *in*—and who is *out*,  
 Thou'lt rail devoutly at the *Peace*,  
 And all its secret *Causes* trace,  
 The *Bucket-play* 'twixt Whigs and Tories,  
 Their ups and downs, with fifty Stories  
 Of *Tricks*, the Lord of *Ox[for]d* knows,  
 And *Errors* of our *Plenipoes*.  
 Thou'lt tell of *Leagues* among the Great  
 Portending ruin to our State,  
 And of that dreadful\* *coup d'eclat*,  
 Which has afforded thee much Chat;  
 The Q[uee]n (*forsooth, Despotick*) gave  
 Twelve *Coronets*, without *thy* leave!  
 A Breach of Liberty, 'tis own'd,  
 For which no Heads have *yet* atton'd!  
 Believe me, what thou'st undertaken  
 May bring in Jeopardy thy Bacon,  
 For Madmen, Children, Wits and Fools  
 Shou'd never meddle with Edg'd Tools.  
 But since thou'rt got into the Fire,  
 And canst not easily retire,  
 Thou must no longer deal in *Farce*,  
 Nor pump to cobble wicked Verse;  
 Untill thou shalt have eas'd thy Conscience,  
 Of Spleen, of Politicks and Nonsense,  
 And when thou'st bid adieu to Cares,  
 And settled *Europe's Grand Affairs*,  
 'Twill then, perhaps, be worth thy while  
 For *Drury-lane* to shape thy Stile:

\**Vide Englishman*, No. 36.



*This is said to  
be the Plot of a  
Comedy with  
which Mr.  
St [ee]le has  
long threatened  
the Town.*

“To make a pair of Jolly Fellows,  
“The Son and Father, join to tell us,  
“How Sons may safely disobey,  
“And Fathers never shou’d say nay,  
“By which wise Conduct they grow Friends  
“At last—and so the Story ends.

*Vide  
Tatlers.*

When first I knew thee, *Dick*, thou wert  
Renown’d for Skill in *Faustus* Art,  
Which made thy Closet much frequented  
By buxom Lasses—Some repented  
Their luckless Choice of Husbands—others,  
Impatient to be like their Mothers,  
Receiv’d from thee profound Directions  
How best to settle their Affections;  
Thus thou, a Friend to the Distress’d,  
Didst in thy calling do thy best.

But now the *Senate* (if things *bit*  
And thou at *Stockbridge* wert not *bit*)  
Must feel thy Eloquence and Fire,  
Approve thy Schemes, thy Wit admire,  
Thee with *Immortal Honours* crown,  
Whilst *Patr’ot-like* thou’lt strut and frown.

What, tho’ by Enemies ’tis said,  
The *Lawrel*, which adorns thy Head;  
Must one Day come in competition,  
By vertue of some sly *Petition*:  
Yet *Mum* for that, hope still the best,  
Nor let such Cares disturb thy Rest.

Methinks I hear thee loud, as Trumpet,  
As Bagpipe shrill, or Oyster-Strumpet,

Methinks I see thee, spruce and fine,  
 With Coat embroider'd richly shine,  
 And dazzle all the *Idol-Faces*  
 As thro' the *HALL* thy Worship paces:  
 (Tho' this I speak but at a venture,  
 Supposing thou hast *Tick* with *Hunter*)  
 Methinks I see a *black-guard Rout*  
 Attend thy Coach, and hear them shout  
 In Approbation of thy Tongue,  
 Which (in their Stile) is *purely hung*.  
 Now, now you carry all before ye,  
 Nor dares one *Jacobite* or *Tory*  
 Pretend to answer one Syl -- lable,  
 Except the Matchless Hero *Abel*.  
 What tho' her *Highness* and her *Spouse*  
 In *Ant[we]rp* keep a frugal House,  
 Yet not forgetful of a Friend  
 They'll soon enable thee to spend,  
 If to *Macc[a]rt[ne]y* thou wilt toast,  
 And to his *Pious Patron's Ghost*.  
 Now manfully thou'lt run a Tilt  
 "On *Popes*, for all the Blood they've spilt,  
 "For Massacres, and Racks, and Flames,  
 "For Lands enrich'd by crimson Streams,  
 "For Inquisitions taught by *Spain*,  
 "Of which the Christian World complain.

*Dick*, we agree—all's true, thou'st said,  
 As that my Muse is yet a Maid,  
 But, if I may with freedom talk,  
 All this is foreign to thy Walk:  
 Thy *Genius* has perhaps a knack  
 At trudging in a beaten Track,  
 But is for *State-Affairs* as fit,



As mine for Politicks and Wit.  
 Then let us both in time grow wise,  
 Nor higher, than our Talents, rise,  
 To some snug Cellar let's repair  
 From Dunns and Debts, and drown our Care;  
 Now quaff of honest Ale a Quart,  
 Now venture at a Pint of Port,  
 With which inspir'd we'll club each Night  
 Some tender Sonnet to indite,  
 And with *Tom D'urf[e]y*, *Phill[i]ps*, *D[e]nnis*,  
 Immortalize our *Dolls* and *Jenneys*.

THE  
 AUTHOR UPON HIMSELF

*A few of the first Lines were wanting in the Copy  
 sent us by a Friend of the Author's from London.*

*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
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**B**Y an [old redhair'd, murd'ring Hag] pursu'd,  
 A crazy Prelate, and a Royal Prude.  
 By dull Divines, who look with envious Eyes,  
 On ev'ry Genius that attempts to rise;  
 And pausing o'er a Pipe, with doubtful Nod,  
 Give Hints, that Poets ne'er believe in God.  
 So, Clowns on Scholars as on Wizards look,  
 And take a Folio for a conj'ring Book.

*S[WIFT]* had the Sin of Wit no venial Crime;  
 Nay, t'was affirm'd, he sometimes dealt in Rhime:  
 Humour, and Mirth, had Place in all he writ:  
 He reconcil'd Divinity and Wit.  
 He mov'd, and bow'd, and talk't with too much Grace;  
 Now shew'd the Parson in his Gait or Face;  
 Despis'd luxurious Wines, and costly Meat;  
 Yet, still was at the Tables of the Great.  
 Frequented Lords; *saw those that saw the Queen*;  
 At *Child's* or *Truby's* never once had been;  
 Where Town and Country Vicars flock in Tribes,  
 Secur'd by Numbers from the Lay-men's Gibes;  
 And deal in Vices of the graver Sort,  
 Tobacco, Censure, Coffee, Pride, and Port.

BUT, after sage Monitions from his Friends,  
 His Talents to employ for nobler Ends;  
 To better Judgments willing to submit,  
 He turns to Pol[it]icks his dang'rous Wit.

AND now, the publick Int'rest to support,  
 By *Harley S[wift]* invited comes to Court.  
 In Favour grows with Ministers of State;  
 Admitted private, when Superiors wait:  
 And, *Harley*, not asham'd his Choice to own,  
 Takes him to *Windsor* in his Coach, alone.  
 At *Windsor S[wift]* no sooner can appear,  
 But, *St. John* comes and whispers in his Ear;  
 The Waiters stand in Ranks; the Yeoman cry,  
*Make Room*; as if a Duke were passing by.

Now *Finch* alarms the Lords; he hears for certain,  
 This dang'rous Priest is got behind the Curtain:  
*Finch*, fam'd for tedious Elocution, proves  
 That *S[wift]* oils many a Spring which *Harley* moves.



*W[alpole]* and *Ayslaby*, to clear the Doubt,  
 Inform the Commons, that the Secret's out:  
 "A *certain* Doctor is observ'd of late,  
 "To haunt a *certain* Minister of State:  
 "From whence, with half an Eye we may discover,  
 "The Peace is made, and *Perkin* must come over.  
*York* is from *Lambeth* sent, to shew the Queen  
 A dang'rous Treatise writ against the Spleen;  
 Which by the Style, the Matter, and the Drift,  
 'Tis thought could be the Work of none but *S[wift].*  
 Poor *York*! the harmless Tool of others Hate;  
 He sues for Pardon, and repents too late.

Now, [*Madam Coningsmark*] her Vengeance vows  
 On *S[wift]*'s Reproaches for her [murder'd Spouse];  
 From her red Locks her Mouth with Venom fills;  
 And thence into the Royal Ear instills.  
 The Qu[een] incens'd, his Services forgot,  
 Leaves him a Victim to the vengeful *Scot*;  
 Now, through the Realm a Proclamation spread,  
 To fix a Price on his devoted Head.  
 While innocent, he scorns ignoble Flight;  
 His watchful Friends preserve him by a Sleight.

By *Harley*'s Favour once again he shines;  
 Is now caress't by Candidate Divines;  
 Who change Opinions with the changing Scene:  
 Lord! how were they mistaken in the Dean!  
 Now, *Delawere* again familiar grows;  
 And, in *S[wift]*'s Ear thrusts half his powder'd Nose.  
 The *Scottish* Nation, whom he durst offend,  
 Again apply that *S[wift]* would be their Friend.

By Faction tir'd, with Grief he waits a while,  
 His great contending Friends to reconcile.  
 Performs what Friendship, Justice, Truth require:  
 What could he more, but decently retire?

A  
 SATIRICAL ELEGY  
 On the DEATH of a late  
 FAMOUS GENERAL.

HIS Grace! impossible! what dead!  
 Of old age too, and in his bed!  
 And could that Mighty Warrior fall?  
 And so inglorious, after all!  
 Well, since he's gone, no matter how,  
 The last loud trump must wake him now:  
 And, trust me, as the noise grows stronger,  
 He'd wish to sleep a little longer.  
 And could he be indeed so old  
 As by the news-papers we're told?  
 Threescore, I think, is pretty high;  
 'Twas time in conscience he should die.  
 This world he cumber'd long enough;  
 He burnt his candle to the snuff;  
 And that's the reason, some folks think,  
 He left behind *so great a s[tin]k*.  
 Behold his funeral appears,  
 Nor widow's sighs, nor orphan's tears,  
 Wont at such times each heart to pierce,  
 Attend the progress of his herse.



But what of that, his friends may say,  
He had those honours in his day.  
True to his profit and his pride,  
He made them weep before he dy'd.

Come hither, all ye empty things,  
Ye bubbles rais'd by breath of Kings;  
Who float upon the tide of state,  
Come hither, and behold your fate.  
Let pride be taught by this rebuke,  
How very mean a thing's a Duke;  
From all his ill-got honours flung,  
Turn'd to that dirt from whence he sprung.

# PREACHING AND POETRY

A  
LETTER  
TO A  
Young GENTLEMAN,  
Lately entered into  
HOLY ORDERS.

---

By a Person of QUALITY.

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Dated *January* 9, 1719-20.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH it were against my Knowledge, or Advice, that you entered into Holy Orders, under the present Dispositions of Mankind towards the *Church*; yet, since it is now supposed too late to recede, (at least according to the general Practice and Opinion,) I cannot forbear offering my Thoughts to you upon this new Condition of Life you are engaged in.

I COULD heartily wish that the Circumstances of your Fortune had enabled you to have continued some Years longer in the University, at least, until you were ten Years standing; to have laid in a competent Stock of human Learning, and some knowledge in Divinity, before you attempted to appear in the World: For I cannot but lament the common Course, which at least Nine in Ten of those, who enter into the Ministry, are obliged to run. When they have taken a Degree, and are consequently



grown a Burden to their Friends; who now think themselves fully discharged; they get into Orders as soon as they can, (upon which I shall make no Remarks,) first solicit a Readership, and if they be very fortunate, arrive in Time to a Curacy here in Town; or else are sent to be Assistants in the Country, where they probably continue several Years (many of them their whole Lives) with thirty or forty Pounds a Year for their Support, until some Bishop, who happens to be not overstocked with Relations, or attached to Favourites, or is content to supply his Diocese without Colonies from *England*, bestows them some inconsiderable Benefice; when it is odds they are already encumbered with a numerous Family. I would be glad to know what Intervals of Life such Persons can possibly set apart for Improvement of their Minds; or which Way they could be furnished with Books; the Library they brought with them from their College being usually not the most numerous, or judiciously chosen. If such Gentlemen arrive to be great Scholars, It must, I think, be either by Means supernatural, or by a Method altogether out of any Road yet known to the Learned. But I conceive the Fact directly otherwise; and that many of them lose the greatest Part of the small Pittance they received at the University.

I TAKE it for granted, that you intend to pursue the beaten Track, and are already desirous to be seen in a Pulpit; only I hope you will think it proper to pass your Quarentine among some of the desolate Churches five Miles round this Town, where you may at least learn to *read* and to *speak*, before you venture to expose your Parts in a City-Congregation: Not that these are better Judges, but because if a Man must needs expose his Folly, it is more safe and discreet to do so, before few Witnesses, and in a scattered Neighbourhood. And you will do well, if you can prevail upon some intimate and judicious Friend to be your constant Hearer, and allow him with the utmost Freedom to give you Notice of whatever he shall find

amiss either in your Voice or Gesture; for want of which early Warning, many Clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous, to the End of their Lives: Neither is it rare to observe among excellent and learned Divines, a certain ungracious Manner, or an unhappy Tone of Voice, which they never have been able to shake off.

I COULD likewise have been glad, if you had applied yourself a little more to the Study of the *English* Language, than I fear you have done; the Neglect whereof is one of the most general Defects among the Scholars of this Kingdom, who seem to have not the least Conception of a Stile, but run on in a flat Kind of Phraseology, often mingled with barbarous Terms and Expressions, peculiar to the Nation: Neither do I perceive that any Person either finds or acknowledges his Wants upon this Head, or in the least desires to have them supplied. Proper Words in proper Places, makes the true Definition of a Stile: But this would require too ample a Disquisition to be now dwelt on. However, I shall venture to name one or two Faults, which are easy to be remedied with a very small Portion of Abilities.

THE first, is the frequent Use of obscure Terms, which by the Women are called *hard Words*, and by the better Sort of Vulgar, *fine Language*; than which I do not know a more universal, inexcusable, and unnecessary Mistake among the Clergy of all Distinctions, but especially the younger Practitioners. I have been curious enough to take a List of several hundred Words in a Sermon of a new Beginner, which not one of his Hearers among a Hundred, could possibly understand: Neither can I easily call to Mind any Clergyman of my own Acquaintance who is wholly exempt from this Error; although many of them agree with me in the Dislike of the Thing. But I am apt to put my self in the Place of the Vulgar, and think many Words difficult or obscure, which the Preacher will not allow to be so, because those Words are obvious to Schollars. I believe



the Method observed by the famous Lord *Falkland*, in some of his Writings, would not be an ill one for young Divines: I was assured by an old Person of Quality, who knew him well; that when he doubted whether a Word were perfectly intelligible or no, he used to consult one of his Lady's Chambermaids, (not the Waiting-woman, because it was possible she might be conversant in Romances,) and by her Judgment was guided, whether to receive or reject it. And if that great Person thought such a Caution necessary in Treatises offered to the learned World; it will be sure, at least as proper in Sermons, where the meanest Hearer is supposed to be concerned; and where very often a Lady's Chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the Congregation, both as to Quality and Understanding. But I know not how it comes to pass, that Professors in most Arts and Sciences are generally the worst qualified to explain their Meanings to those who are not of their Tribe: A common Farmer shall make you understand in three Words, *that his Foot is out of Joint, or his Collar-bone broken*; wherein a Surgeon, after a hundred Terms of Art, if you are not a Scholar, shall leave you to seek. It is frequently the same Case in Law, Physick, and even many of the meaner Arts.

AND upon this Account it is, that among *hard Words*, I number likewise those which are peculiar to Divinity as it is a Science; because I have observed several Clergymen, otherwise little fond of obscure Terms, yet in their Sermons very liberal of all those which they find in Ecclesiastical Writers, as if it were our Duty to understand them: Which I am sure it is not. And I defy the greatest Divine, to produce any Law either of God or Man, which obliges me to comprehend the Meaning of *Omniscience, Omnipresence, Ubiquity, Attribute, Beatifick Vision*, with a Thousand others so frequent in Pulpits; any more than that of *Excentrick, Idiosyncrasy, Entity*, and the like. I believe, I may venture to insist further, that many Terms used in Holy Writ, particularly by St. *Paul*, might with more Discretion be

changed into plainer Speech, except when they are introduced as part of a Quotation.

I AM the more earnest in this Matter, because it is a general Complaint, and the justest in the World. For a Divine hath nothing to say to the wisest Congregation of any Parish in this Kingdom, which he may not express in a Manner to be understood by the meanest among them. And this Assertion must be true, or else God requires from us more than we are able to perform. However, not to contend whether a Logician might possibly put a Case that would serve for an Exception; I will appeal to any Man of Letters, whether at least nineteen in twenty of those perplexing Words might not be changed into easy ones, such as naturally first occur to ordinary Men, and probably did so at first to those very Gentlemen, who are so fond of the former.

WE are often reprov'd by Divines from the Pulpits, on Account of our Ignorance in Things sacred; and perhaps with Justice enough: However, it is not very reasonable for them to expect, that *common Men* should understand Expressions, which are never made use of in *common Life*. No Gentleman thinks it safe or prudent to send a Servant with a Message, without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into Terms brought down to the Capacity of the Bearer: Yet after all this Care, it is frequent for Servants to mistake, and sometimes occasion Misunderstandings between Friends; although the common Domesticks in some Gentlemen's Families, may have more Opportunities of improving their Minds, than the ordinary Sort of Tradesmen.

It is usual for Clergymen who are taxed with this learned Defect, to quote Dr. *Tillotson*, and other famous Divines in their Defence; without considering the Difference between elaborate Discourses upon important Occasions, delivered to Princes or Parliaments, written with a View of being made publick; and a plain Sermon intended for the Middle or lower



Size of People. Neither do they seem to remember the many Alterations, Additions, and Expungings made by great Authors, in those Treatises which they prepare for the Publick. Besides, that excellent Prelate above-mentioned, was known to preach after a much more popular Manner in the City Congregations: And if in those Parts of his Works, he be any where too obscure for the Understandings of many, who may be supposed to have been his Hearers; it ought to be numbered among his Omissions.

THE Fear of being thought Pedants hath been of pernicious Consequence to young Divines. This hath wholly taken many of them off from their severer Studies in the University; which they have exchanged for Plays, Poems, and Pamphlets, in order to qualify them for Tea-Tables and Coffee-Houses. This they usually call *Polite Conversation, knowing the World, and reading Men instead of Books*. These Accomplishments, when applied in the Pulpit, appear by a quaint, terse, florid Style, rounded into Periods and Cadencies, commonly without either Propriety or Meaning. I have listened with my utmost Attention for half an Hour to an Orator of this Species, without being able to understand, much less to carry away one single Sentence out of a whole Sermon. Others, to shew that their Studies have not been confined to Sciences, or ancient Authors, will talk in the Style of a gaming Ordinary, and *White Friars*; where I suppose the Hearers can be little edified by the Terms of *Palming, Shuffling, Biting, Bamboozling*, and the like, if they have not been sometimes conversant among Pick-pockets and Sharpers. And truly, as they say, a Man is known by his Company; so it should seem, that a Man's Company may be known by his Manner of expressing himself, either in publick Assemblies, or private Conversation.

It would be endless to run over the several Defects of Style among us: I shall therefore say nothing of the *mean* and the *paultry*, (which are usually attended by the *fustian*,) much less of

the *slovenly* or *indecent*. Two Things I will just warn you against: The first is, the Frequency of flat, unnecessary Epithets; and the other is, the Folly of using old thread-bare Phrases, which will often make you go out of your Way to find and apply them; are nauseous to rational Hearers, and will seldom express your Meaning as well as your own natural Words.

ALTHOUGH, as I have already observed, our *English* Tongue is too little cultivated in this Kingdom; yet the Faults are nine in ten owing to Affectation, and not to the want of Understanding. When a Man's Thoughts are clear, the properest Words will generally offer themselves first; and his own Judgment will direct him in what Order to place them, so as they may be best understood. Where Men err against this Method, it is usually on Purpose, and to shew their Learning, their Oratory, their Politeness, or their Knowledge of the World. In short, that Simplicity, without which no human Performance can arrive to any great Perfection, is no where more eminently useful than in this.

I HAVE been considering that Part of Oratory, which relates to the moving of the Passions: This, I observe, is in Esteem and Practice among some Church Divines, as well as among all the Preachers and Hearers of the *Fanatick* or *Enthusiastick* Strain. I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more Freedom than Prudence) my Opinion upon the Point.

THE two great Orators of *Greece* and *Rome*, *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, although each of them a Leader (or, as the *Greeks* called it, a *Demagogue*) in a popular State; yet seem to differ in their Practice upon this Branch of their Art: The former, who had to deal with a People of much more Politeness, Learning, and Wit, laid the greatest Weight of his Oratory upon the Strength of his Arguments offered to their Understanding and Reason: Whereas, *Tully* considered the Dispositions of a sincere, more ignorant, and less mercurial Nation, by dwelling almost entirely on the pathetick Part.



BUT the principal Thing to be remembered is, that the constant Design of both these Orators in all their Speeches, was to drive some one particular Point; either the Condemnation, or Acquittal of an accused Person; a persuasive to War, the enforcing of a Law, and the like; which was determined upon the Spot, according as the Orators on either Side prevailed. And here it was often found of absolute Necessity to enflame, or cool the Passions of the Audience; especially at *Rome*, where *Tully* spoke, and with whose Writings young Divines (I mean those among them who read old Authors) are more conversant than with those of *Demosthenes*; who, by many Degrees, excelled the other, at least as an Orator. But I do not see how this Talent of moving Passions, can be of any great Use towards directing Christian Men in the Conduct of their Lives, at least in these *Northern* Climates; where, I am confident, the strongest Eloquence of that Kind will leave few Impressions upon any of our Spirits, deep enough to last till the next Morning, or rather to the next Meal.

BUT what hath chiefly put me out of conceit with this moving Manner of Preaching, is the frequent Disappointment it meets with. I know a Gentleman, who made it a Rule in Reading, to skip over all Sentences where he spied a Note of Admiration at the End. I believe, those Preachers who abound in *Epipho-nemas*, if they look about them, would find one Part of their Congregation out of Countenance, and the other asleep; except, perhaps, an old Female Beggar or two in the Isles, who (if they be sincere) may probably groan at the Sound.

NOR is it a Wonder that this Expedient should so often miscarry, which requires so much Art and Genius to arrive at any Perfection in it; as every Man will find, much sooner than learn, by consulting *Cicero* himself.

I THEREFORE entreat you to make use of this Faculty (if you be ever so unfortunate as to think you have it) as seldom, and with as much Caution as you can; else I may probably

have Occasion to say of you, as a great Person said of another upon this very Subject. A Lady asked him, coming out of Church, whether it were not a very moving Discourse? *Yes*, said he, *I was extremely sorry, for the Man is my Friend.*

IF in Company you offer something for a Jest, and no body seconds you in your own Laughter, or seems to relish what you said; you may condemn their Taste, if you please, and appeal to better Judgments; but, in the mean Time, it must be agreed you make a very indifferent Figure: And it is, at least, equally ridiculous to be disappointed in endeavouring to make other Folks grieve, as to make them laugh.

A PLAIN convincing Reason may possibly operate upon the Mind both of a learned and ignorant Hearer, as long as they live; and will edify a Thousand Times more than the Art of wetting the Handkerchiefs of a whole Congregation, if you were sure to attain it.

IF your Arguments be strong, in God's Name offer them in as moving a Manner as the Nature of the Subject will probably admit; wherein Reason, and good Advice will be your safest Guides: But beware of letting the pathetick Part swallow up the rational: For, I suppose, *Philosophers* have long agreed, that Passion should never prevail over Reason.

As I take it, the two principal Branches of Preaching, are first to tell the People what is their Duty; and then to convince them that it is so. The Topicks for both these, we know, are brought from *Scripture* and *Reason*. Upon the former, I wish it were oftner practised to instruct the Hearers in the Limits, Extent, and Compass of every Duty, which requires a good deal of Skill and Judgment: The other Branch is, I think, not so difficult. But what I would offer upon both, is this; that it seems to be in the Power of a reasonable Clergyman, if he will be at the Pains, to make the most ignorant Man comprehend what is his Duty; and to convince him by Arguments, drawn to the Level of his Understanding, that he ought to perform it.



BUT I must remember, that my Design in this *Paper* was not so much to instruct you in your Business, either as a Clergyman or a Preacher, as to warn you against some Mistakes, which are obvious to the Generality of Mankind, as well as to me; and we, who are Hearers, may be allowed to have some Opportunities in the Quality of being Standers-by. Only, perhaps, I may now again transgress, by desiring you to express the Heads of your Divisions in as few and clear Words, as you possibly can; otherwise, I, and many Thousand others, will never be able to retain them, nor consequently to carry away a Syllable of the Sermon.

I SHALL now mention a Particular, wherein your whole Body will be certainly against me; and the Laity, almost to a Man, on my Side. However it came about, I cannot get over the Prejudice of taking some little Offence at the Clergy, for perpetually reading their Sermons; perhaps, my frequent hearing of Foreigners, who never make use of Notes, may have added to my Disgust. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read, differs as much from what is repeated without Book, as a Copy doth from an Original. At the same Time, I am highly sensible what an extreme Difficulty it would be upon you to alter this Method; and that, in such a Case, your Sermons would be much less valuable than they are, for want of Time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a Compromise with you in this Matter. I knew a Clergyman of some Distinction, who appeared to deliver his Sermon without looking into his Notes; which, when I complimented him upon, he assured me, he could not repeat six Lines; but his Method was to write the whole Sermon in a large plain Hand, with all the Forms of Margin, Paragraph, marked Page, and the like; then on *Sunday* Morning, he took care to run it over five or six Times, which he could do in an Hour; and when he delivered it; by pretending to turn his Face from one Side to the other, he would (in his own Expression) pick up the Lines, and cheat

his People, by making them believe he had it all by Heart. He farther added, that whenever he happened, by Neglect, to omit any of these Circumstances, the Vogue of the *Parish* was, *our Doctor gave us but an indifferent Sermon to-day*. Now among us, many Clergymen act so directly contrary to this Method; that from a Habit of saving *Time* and *Paper*, which they acquired at the University, they write in so diminutive a Manner, with such frequent Blots and Interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual Hesitations, or extemporary Expletives: And I desire to know what can be more inexcusable than to see a Divine, and a Scholar, at a Loss in reading his own Compositions; which, it is supposed, he hath been preparing with much *Pains* and *Thought*, for the Instruction of his People. The Want of a little more Care in this Article, is the Cause of much ungraceful Behaviour. You will observe some Clergymen with their Heads held down from the Beginning to the End, within an Inch of the Cushion, to read what is hardly legible; which, besides the untoward Manner, hinders them from making the best Advantage of their Voice: Others, again, have a Trick of popping up and down every Moment, from their *Paper* to the Audience, like an idle School-Boy on a Repetition-Day.

LET me entreat you therefore, to add one Half-Crown a Year to the Article of *Paper*; to transcribe your Sermons in as large and plain a Manner as you can, and either make no Interlineations, or change the whole Leaf: For we, your Hearers, would rather you should be less correct, than perpetually stammering; which I take to be one of the worst *Solecisms* in *Rhetorick*. And lastly, read your Sermon once or twice, for a few Days before you preach it: To which you will probably answer some Years hence, *That it was but just finished when the last Bell rang to Church*; and I shall readily believe, but not excuse you.

I CANNOT forbear warning you, in the most earnest Manner, against endeavouring at Wit in your Sermons: Because, by the



strictest Computation, it is very near a Million to One, that you have none; and because too many of your Calling, have consequently made themselves everlastingly ridiculous by attempting it. I remember several young Men in this Town, who could never leave the *Pulpit* under half a Dozen *Conceits*; and this Faculty adhered to those Gentlemen a longer or shorter Time, exactly in proportion to their several Degrees of Dulness: Accordingly, I am told that some of them retain it to this Day. I heartily wish the Brood were at an End.

BEFORE you enter into the common unsufferable Cant, of taking all Occasions to disparage the Heathen *Philosophers*; I hope, you will differ from some of your Brethren, by first enquiring what those *Philosophers* can say for themselves. The System of Morality to be gathered out of the Writings, or Sayings of those antient Sages, falls undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the Gospel; and wants, besides, the Divine Sanction which our Saviour gave to his. Whatever is further related by the Evangelists, contains chiefly Matters of Fact, and consequently of Faith; such as the Birth of Christ, his being the Messiah, his Miracles, his Death, Resurrection, and Ascension: None of which can properly come under the Appellation of human Wisdom, being intended only to make us wise unto Salvation. And therefore in this Point, nothing can be justly laid to the Charge of the *Philosophers*; further, than that they were ignorant of certain Facts which happened long after their Death. But I am deceived, if a better Comment could be any where collected upon the moral Part of the Gospel, than from the Writings of those excellent Men. Even that divine Precept of loving our Enemies, is at large insisted on by *Plato*; who puts it, as I remember, into the Mouth of *Socrates*. And as to the Reproach of Heathenism, I doubt they had less of it than the corrupted *Jews*, in whose Time they lived. For it is a gross Piece of Ignorance among us, to conceive, that in those polite and learned Ages, even Persons of any tolerable Educa-

tion, much less the wisest Philosophers, did acknowledge, or worship any more than one Almighty Power, under several Denominations, to whom they allowed all those Attributes we ascribe to the Divinity: And, as I take it, human Comprehension reacheth no further: Neither did our Saviour think it necessary to explain to us the Nature of God; because, as I suppose, it would be impossible, without bestowing on us other Faculties than we possess at present. But the true Misery of the Heathen World, appears to be what I before mentioned, the Want of a Divine Sanction; without which, the Dictates of the Philosophers failed in the Point of Authority; and consequently the Bulk of Mankind lay, indeed, under a great Load of Ignorance, even in the Article of Morality; but the Philosophers themselves did not. Take the Matter in this Light, and it will afford Field enough for a Divine to enlarge on; by shewing the Advantages which the Christian World hath over the Heathen; and the absolute Necessity of Divine Revelation, to make the Knowledge of the true God, and the Practice of Virtue more universal in the World.

I AM not ignorant how much I differ in this Opinion from some ancient Fathers in the Church; who arguing against the Heathens, made it a principal Topick to decry their Philosophy as much as they could: Which, I hope, is not altogether our present Case. Besides, it is to be considered, that those Fathers lived in the Decline of *Literature*; and in my Judgment, (who should be unwilling to give the least Offence,) appear to be rather most excellent holy Persons, than of transcendent Genius and Learning. Their genuine Writings (for many of them have extreamly suffered by spurious Additions) are of admirable Use for confirming the Truth of ancient Doctrines and Discipline; by shewing the State and Practice of the primitive Church. But among such of them, as have fallen in my Way, I do not remember any, whose Manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily recommend to the Imitation of a young Divine, when he is to



speaking from the Pulpit. Perhaps I judge too hastily, there being several of them, in whose Writings I have made very little Progress, and in others none at all. For I perused only such as were recommended to me, at a Time when I had more Leisure, and a better Disposition to read, than have since fallen to my Share.

To return then to the Heathen Philosophers: I hope you will not only give them Quarter, but make their Works a considerable Part of your Study. To these I will venture to add the principal Orators and Historians, and perhaps a few of the Poets: By the reading of which, you will soon discover your Mind and Thoughts to be enlarged, your Imagination extended and refined, your Judgment directed, your Admiration lessened, and your Fortitude increased. All which Advantages must needs be of excellent Use to a Divine, whose Duty it is to preach and practise the Contempt of human Things.

I WOULD say something concerning Quotations; wherein I think you cannot be too sparing, except from Scripture, and the primitive Writers of the Church. As to the former, when you offer a Text as a Proof or an Illustration, we your Hearers expect to be fairly used; and sometimes think we have Reason to complain, especially of you younger Divines; which makes us fear, that some of you conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a Concordance, and there having found the principal Word, introduce as much of the Verse as will serve your Turn, although in Reality it makes nothing for you. I do not altogether disapprove the Manner of interweaving Texts of Scripture through the Style of your Sermon; wherein, however, I have sometimes observed great Instances of Indiscretion and Impropriety; against which I therefore venture to give you a Caution.

As to Quotations from antient Fathers, I think they are best brought in, to confirm some Opinion controverted by those who differ from us: In other Cases we give you full Power to

adopt the Sentence for your own, rather than tell us, *as St. Austin excellently observes*: But to mention modern Writers by Name, or use the Phrase of *a late excellent Prelate of our Church*, and the like, is altogether intolerable; and, for what Reason I know not, makes every rational Hearer ashamed. Of no better a Stamp is your *Heathen Philosopher*, and *famous Poet*, and *Roman Historian*; at least in common Congregations, who will rather believe you on your own Word, than on that of *Plato* or *Homer*.

I HAVE lived to see *Greek* and *Latin* almost entirely driven out of the Pulpit; for which I am heartily glad. The frequent Use of the latter was certainly a Remnant of Popery, which never admitted Scripture in the vulgar Language; and I wonder that Practice was never accordingly objected to us by the Fanaticks.

THE Mention of Quotations puts me in mind of Common-place Books, which have been long in use by industrious young Divines, and, I hear, do still continue so; I know they are very beneficial to Lawyers and Physicians, because they are Collections of Facts or Cases, whereupon a great Part of their several Faculties depend: Of these I have seen several, but never yet any written by a Clergyman; only from what I am informed, they generally are Extracts of Theological and Moral Sentences, drawn from Ecclesiastical and other Authors, reduced under proper Heads; usually begun, and perhaps, finished, while the Collectors were young in the Church; as being intended for Materials, or Nurseries to stock future Sermons. You will observe the wise Editors of ancient Authors, when they meet a Sentence worthy of being distinguished, take special Care to have the first Word printed in Capital Letters, that you may not overlook it: Such, for Example, as the *Inconstancy of Fortune*, the *Goodness of Peace*, the *Excellency of Wisdom*, the *Certainty of Death*; that *Prosperity makes Men insolent*, and *Adversity humble*; and the like eternal Truths, which every Plowman knows well enough, although he never heard of *Aristotle* or *Plato*. If Theological Common-Place Books be no better filled,



I think they had better be laid aside: And I could wish, that Men of tolerable Intellectuals would rather trust to their own natural Reason, improved by a general Conversation with Books, to enlarge on Points which they are supposed already to understand. If a rational Man reads an excellent Author with just Application, he shall find himself extremely improved, and perhaps insensibly led to imitate that Author's Perfections; although in a little Time he should not remember one Word in the Book, nor even the Subject it handled: For, Books give the same Turn to our Thoughts and Way of Reasoning, that good and ill Company do to our Behaviour and Conversation; without either loading our Memories, or making us even sensible of the Change. And particularly, I have observed in Preaching, that no Men succeed better than those, who trust entirely to the Stock or Fund of their own Reason; advanced, indeed, but not overlaid by Commerce with Books. Whoever only reads, in order to transcribe wise and shining Remarks, without entering into the Genius and Spirit of the Author; as it is probable he will make no very judicious Extract, so he will be apt to trust to that Collection in all his Compositions; and be misled out of the regular Way of Thinking, in order to introduce those Materials which he hath been at the Pains to gather: And the Product of all this, will be found a manifest incoherent Piece of Patchwork.

SOME Gentlemen abounding in their University Erudition, are apt to fill their Sermons with philosophical Terms, and Notions of the metaphysical or abstracted Kind; which generally have one Advantage, to be equally understood by the Wise, the Vulgar, and the Preacher himself. I have been better entertained, and more informed by a Chapter in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, than by a long Discourse upon the *Will* and the *Intellect*, and *simple* or *complex Ideas*. Others again, are fond of dilating on *Matter* and *Motion*, talk of the *fortuitous Concourse of Atoms*, of *Theories*, and *Phænomena*; directly against the Advice of St.

*Paul*, who yet appears to have been conversant enough in those Kinds of Studies.

I do not find that you are any where directed in the Canons, or Articles, to attempt explaining the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. And, indeed, since Providence intended there should be Mysteries; I do not see how it can be agreeable to *Piety*, *Orthodoxy*, or good *Sense*, to go about such a Work. For, to me there seems to be a manifest Dilemma in the Case: If you explain them, they are Mysteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no Purpose. What I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do, upon this Occasion, is upon solemn Days to deliver the Doctrine as the Church holds it, and confirm it by Scripture. For my Part, having considered the Matter impartially, I can see no great Reason which those Gentlemen, you call the *Free-Thinkers*, can have for their Clamour against Religious Mysteries; since it is plain, they were not invented by the Clergy, to whom they bring no Profit, nor acquire any Honour. For every Clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmost he knows, or to confess that he doth not understand them: Neither is it strange, that there should be Mysteries in Divinity, as well as in the commonest Operations of Nature.

AND here I am at a Loss what to say, upon the frequent Custom of preaching against *Atheism*, *Deism*, *Free-Thinking*, and the like; as young Divines are particularly fond of doing, especially when they exercise their Talent in Churches, frequented by People of Quality; which, as it is but an ill Compliment to the Audience, so I am under some doubt whether it answers the End. Because, Persons under those Imputations are generally no great Frequenters of Churches, and so the Congregation is but little edified for the Sake of three or four Fools, who are past Grace. Neither do I think it any Part of *Prudence*, to perplex the Minds of well-disposed People with Doubts, which probably would never have otherwise come into their Heads. But I am of Opinion, and dare be positive in it, that not



one in a Hundred of those, who pretend to be *Free-Thinkers*, are really so in their Hearts. For there is one Observation which I never knew to fail, and I desire you will examine it in the Course of your Life; that no Gentleman of a liberal Education, and regular in his Morals, did ever profess himself a *Free-Thinker*: Where then are these Kind of People to be found? Amongst the worst Part of the Soldiery, made up of Pages, younger Brothers of obscure Families, and others of desperate Fortunes; or else among idle Town-Fops; and now and then a drunken 'Squire of the Country. Therefore, nothing can be plainer, than that Ignorance, and Vice, are two Ingredients absolutely necessary in the Composition of those you generally call *Free-Thinkers*; who, in Propriety of Speech, *are no Thinkers at all*. And, since I am in the way of it, pray consider one Thing farther: As young as you are, you cannot but have already observed, what a violent Run there is among too many weak People, against University Education: Be firmly assured, that the whole Cry is made up by those, who were either never sent to a College; or through their Irregularities and Stupidity, never made the least Improvement while they were there. I have above Forty of the latter now in my Eye; several of them in this Town, whose *Learning, Manners, Temperance, Probity, Good-nature, and Politicks*, are all of a-piece. Others of them in the Country, oppressing their Tenants, tyrannizing over the Neighbourhood, cheating the Vicar, talking Nonsense, and getting drunk at the Sessions. It is from such Seminaries as these, that the World is provided with the several Tribes and Denominations of *Free-Thinkers*; who, in my Judgment, are not to be reformed by Arguments offered to prove the Truth of the *Christian Religion*; because, *Reasoning* will never make a Man correct an ill Opinion, which by *Reasoning* he never acquired: For, in the Course of Things, Men always grow vicious before they become Unbelievers: But if you could once convince the Town or Country Profligate, by Topicks drawn from the View

of their own *Quiet, Reputation, Health, and Advantage*; their *Infidelity* would soon drop off: This, I confess, is no easy Task; because it is almost in a literal Sense, to *fight with Beasts*. Now, to make it clear, that we are to look for no other Original of this *Infidelity*, whereof Divines so much complain; it is allowed on all Hands, that the People of *England* are more corrupt in their *Morals*, than any other Nation at this Day under the *Sun*: And this Corruption is manifestly owing to other Causes, both *numerous* and *obvious*, much more than to the Publication of irreligious Books; which, indeed, are but the Consequence of the former. For, all the Writers against Christianity, since the Revolution, have been of the lowest Rank among Men, in regard to *Literature, Wit, and good Sense*; and upon that Account, wholly unqualified to propagate *Heresies*, unless among People already abandoned.

IN an Age where every Thing disliked by those, who think with the Majority, is called *Disaffection*; it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this universal Depravation of *Manners*, is owing to the perpetual bandying of *Factions* among us for Thirty Years past; when, without weighing the *Motives of Justice, Law, Conscience, or Honour*, every Man adjusts his *Principles* to those of the *Party* he hath chosen, and among whom he may best find his own Account: But, by reason of our frequent Vicissitudes, Men, who were impatient to be out of Play, have been forced to recant, or at least to reconcile their former Tenets with every new System of Administration. Add to this, that the old fundamental Custom of annual Parliaments being wholly laid aside, and Elections growing chargeable; since Gentlemen found that their Country *Seats* brought them in less than a *Seat* in the House; the Voters, *that is to say*, the Bulk of the common People, have been universally seduced into *Bribery, Perjury, Drunkenness, Malice, and Slander*.

NOT to be further tedious, or rather invidious; these are a



few, among other Causes, which have contributed to the Ruin of our *Morals*, and consequently to the Contempt of *Religion*. For, imagine to your self, if you please, a landed Youth, whom his Mother would never suffer to look into a Book, for fear of spoiling his Eyes; got into Parliament, and observing all Enemies to the Clergy heard with the utmost Applause; what Notions he must imbibe; how readily he will join in the Cry; what an Esteem he will conceive of himself; and what a Contempt he must entertain, not only for his Vicar at home, but for the whole Order.

I THEREFORE again conclude, that the Trade of *Infidelity* hath been taken up only for an Expedient to keep in Countenance that universal Corruption of *Morals*, which many other Causes first contributed to introduce, and to cultivate. And thus, Mr. *Hobbes's* Saying upon Reason, may be much more properly applied to Religion: That, *if Religion will be against a Man, a Man will be against Religion*. Although, after all, I have heard a Profligate offer much stronger Arguments against paying his Debts, than ever he was known to do against *Christianity*; indeed, the Reason was, because in that Juncture he happened to be closer pressed by the *Bailiff* than the *Parson*.

IGNORANCE may, perhaps, be the *Mother* of *Superstition*; but *Experience* hath not proved it to be so of *Devotion*: For *Christianity* always made the most easy and quickest Progress in civilized Countries. I mention this, because it is affirmed, that the Clergy are in most Credit where Ignorance prevails, (and surely this Kingdom would be called the *Paradise* of Clergymen, if that Opinion were true) for which they instance *England* in the Times of *Popery*. But whoever knoweth any Thing of three or four Centuries before the Reformation, will find, the little Learning then stirring, was more equally divided between the *English* Clergy and Laity, than it is at present. There were several famous Lawyers in that *Period*, whose Writings are still in the highest Repute; and some *Historians* and *Poets*, who were

not of the *Church*. Whereas, now-a-days our Education is so corrupted, that you will hardly find a young Person of Quality with the least Tincture of Knowledge; at the same Time that many of the Clergy were never more learned, or so scurvily treated. Here among Us, at least, a Man of Letters, out of the three Professions, is almost a Prodigy. And those few who have preserved any Rudiments of Learning, are (except, perhaps, one or two Smatterers) the Clergy's Friends to a Man: For, I dare appeal to any Clergyman in this Kingdom, whether the greatest Dunce in his Parish be not always the most proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable of his Flock.

I THINK the Clergy have almost given over perplexing themselves, and their Hearers, with abstruse Points of Predestination, Election, and the like; at least, it is time they should; and therefore, I shall not trouble you further upon this Head.

I HAVE now said all I could think convenient with relation to your Conduct in the Pulpit. Your Behaviour in the World is another Scene, upon which, I shall readily offer you my Thoughts, if you appear to desire them from me, by your Approbation of what I have here written; if not, I have already troubled you too much.

*I am, SIR,  
Your affectionate  
Friend and Servant.*

JANUARY 9,  
1719-20.

### ON POETRY, A *RAPSODY*.

ALL Human Race wou'd fain be *Wits*,  
And Millions miss, for one that hits.  
*Young's* universal Passion, *Pride*,  
Was never known to spread so wide.



Say, *Britain*, cou'd you ever boast,  
 Three *Poets* in an Age at most?  
 Our chilling Climate hardly bears  
 A *Sprig* of Bays in Fifty Years:  
 While ev'ry Fool his Claim alledges,  
 As if it grew in common Hedges.  
 What Reason can there be assign'd  
 For this Perverseness in the Mind?  
*Brutes* find out where their Talents lie:  
 A *Bear* will not attempt to fly:  
 A founder'd *Horse* will oft debate,  
 Before he tries a five-barr'd Gate:  
 A *Dog* by Instinct turns aside,  
 Who sees the Ditch too deep and wide.  
 But, *Man* we find the only Creature,  
 Who, led by *Folly*, combats *Nature*:  
 Who, when *she* loudly cries, *Forbear*,  
 With Obstinacy fixes there;  
 And, where his *Genius* least inclines,  
 Absurdly bends his whole Designs.

NOT *Empire* to the Rising-Sun,  
 By Valour, Conduct, Fortune won;  
 Not highest *Wisdom* in Debates  
 For framing Laws to govern States;  
 Not Skill in Sciences profound,  
 So large to grasp the Circle round;  
 Such Heav'nly Influence require,  
 As how to strike the *Muses Lyre*.

NOT Beggar's Brat, on Bulk begot;  
 Not Bastard of a Pedlar *Scot*;  
 Not Boy brought up to cleaning Shoes,  
 The Spawn of *Bridewell*, or the Stews;

Not Infants dropt, the spurious Pledges  
 Of *Gipsies* litt'ring under Hedges,  
 Are so disqualified by Fate  
 To rise in *Church*, or *Law*, or *State*,  
 As he whom *Phæbus* in his Ire  
 Hath *blasted* with Poetick Fire.

WHAT Hope of Custom in the *Fair*,  
 While not a Soul demands your Ware?  
 Where you have nothing to produce  
 For private Life, or publick Use?  
*Court*, *City*, *Country* want you not;  
 You cannot bribe, betray, or plot.  
 For Poets Law makes no Provision:  
 The Wealthy have you in Derision.  
 Of State-Affairs you cannot smatter;  
 Are awkward when you try to flatter.  
 Your Portion, taking *Britain* round,  
 Was Just one annual Hundred Pound.  
 Now not so much as in Remainder  
 Since *Cibber* brought in an Attainder;  
 For ever fixt by Right Divine  
 (A Monarch's Right) on *Grubstreet* Line.

POOR starvling Bard, how small thy Gains!  
 How unproportion'd to thy Pains!  
 And here a *Simile* comes pat in:  
 Though *Chickens* take a Week to fatten,  
 The Guests in less than half an Hour  
 Will more than half a Score devour.  
 So, after toiling twenty Days,  
 To earn a Stock of Pence and Praise,  
 Thy Labours grown the Critick's Prey,  
 Are swallow'd o'er a Dish of Tea;



Gone, to be never heard of more;  
Gone, where the *Chickens* went before.

How shall a new Attempter learn  
*Of diff'rent Spirits to discern,*  
And how distinguish, which is which,  
The Poet's Vein, or scribbling Itch?  
Then hear an old experienc'd Sinner  
Instructing thus a young Beginner.

CONSULT your self; and if you find  
A powerful Impulse, urge your Mind,  
Impartial Judge within your Breast  
What Subject you can manage best;  
Whether your Genius most inclines  
To Satire, Praise, or hum'rous Lines;  
To Elegies in mournful Tone,  
*Or Prologue sent from Hand unknown.*  
Then rising with *Aurora's* Light,  
The Muse invok'd, sit down to write;  
Blot out, correct, insert, refine,  
Enlarge, diminish, interline.  
Be mindful, when Invention fails,  
To scratch your Head, and bite your Nails.

YOUR Poem finish'd; next your Care  
Is needful, to transcribe it fair.  
In modern Wit all printed Trash, is  
Set off with num'rous *Breaks*—and *Dashes*—

To Statesmen would you give a Wipe,  
You print it in *Italick Type*.  
When Letters are in vulgar Shapes,  
'Tis ten to one the Wit escapes;

But when in CAPITALS exprest,  
The dullest Reader smoaks a Jest.  
Or else perhaps he may invent  
A better than the Poet meant;  
As learned Commentators view  
In *Homer*, more than *Homer* knew.

Your Poem in its modish Dress,  
Correctly fitted for the Press,  
Convey by Penny-Post to *Lintot*,  
But let no Friend alive look into't.  
If *Lintot* thinks 'twill quit the Cost,  
You need not fear your Labour lost:  
And, how agreeably surpriz'd  
Are you to see it advertiz'd!  
The Hawker shews you one in Print,  
As fresh as Farthings from the Mint:  
The Product of your Toil and Sweating;  
A Bastard of your own begetting.

BE sure at *Will's* the following Day,  
Lie snug, to hear what Criticks say.  
And if you find the general Vogue  
Pronounces you a stupid Rogue;  
Damns all your Thoughts as low and little;  
Sit still, and swallow down your Spittle.  
Be silent as a Politician,  
For, talking may beget Suspicion:  
Or praise the Judgment of the Town,  
And help your self to run it down.  
Give up your fond paternal Pride,  
Nor argue on the weaker Side:  
For, Poems read without a Name,  
We justly praise, or justly blame:



And Criticks have no partial Views,  
 Except they know whom they abuse.  
 And since you ne'er provok'd their Spight,  
 Depend upon't their Judgment's right.  
 But if you blab you are undone;  
 Consider what a Risk you run;  
 You lose your Credit all at once;  
 The Town will mark you for a Dunce:  
 The vilest Doggrel *Grubstreet* sends,  
 Will pass for yours with Foes and Friends.  
 And you must bear the whole Disgrace,  
 'Till some fresh Blockhead takes your Place.

YOUR Secret kept, your Poem sunk,  
 And sent in Quires to line a Trunk:  
 If still you be dispos'd to rhyme,  
 Go try your Hand a second Time:  
 Again you fail; yet safe's the Word;  
 Take Courage, and attempt a Third.  
 But first with Care employ your Thoughts,  
 Where Criticks mark'd your former Faults:  
 The trivial Turns, the borrow'd Wit,  
 The *Similies* that nothing fit;  
 The *Cant* which every Fool repeats,  
 Town-Jests, and Coffee-house Conceits:  
 Descriptions tedious, flat and dry,  
 And introduc'd the Lord knows why:  
 Or where we find your Fury set  
 Against the harmless Alphabet;  
 On A's and B's your Malice vent,  
 While Readers wonder whom you meant;  
 A publick, or a private *Robber*;  
 A *Statesman*, or a South-Sea *Jobber*.  
 A *P[rela]te* who no God believes;

A [*Parliament*], or Den of Thieves.  
A Pick-purse at the Bar, or Bench;  
A Dutchess, or a Suburb-Wench.  
Or oft when Epithets you link,  
In gaping Lines to fill a Chink;  
Like Stepping-stones to save a Stride,  
In Streets where Kennels are too wide:  
Or like a Heel-piece to support  
A Cripple with one Foot too short:  
Or like a Bridge that joins a Marish  
To Moorlands of a diff'rent Parish.  
So have I seen ill-coupled Hounds,  
Drag diff'rent Ways in miry Grounds.  
So Geographers in *Afric* Maps  
With Savage Pictures fill their Gaps;  
And o'er unhabitable Downs  
Place Elephants for want of Towns.

BUT though you miss your third Essay,  
You need not throw your Pen away.  
Lay now aside all Thoughts of Fame,  
To spring more profitable Game.  
From Party-Merit seek Support;  
The vilest Verse thrives best at C[ourt].  
A Pamphlet in Sir *Bob's* Defence  
Will never fail to bring in Pence;  
Nor be concern'd about the Sale,  
He pays his Workmen on the Nail.

A P[RINCE] the Moment he is crown'd,  
Inherits ev'ry Virtue round;  
As Emblems of the Sov'reign Pow'r,  
Like *other* Bawbles of the Tow'r.  
Is gen'rous, valiant, just and wise,



And so continues 'till he dies.  
 His humble *S[enat]e* this professes,  
 In all their *Speeches, Votes, Addresses*.  
 But once you fix him in a Tomb,  
 His Virtues fade, his Vices bloom;  
 And each Perfection wrong imputed  
 Is fully at his Death confuted.  
 The Loads of Poems in his Praise,  
 Ascending, make one Fun'ral Blaze.  
 As soon as you can hear his Knell,  
 This G[od] on Earth turns *D[evil]* in Hell.  
 And, lo, his M[inister]s of State,  
 Transform'd to Imps, his Levee wait:  
 Where, in the Scenes of endless Woe,  
 They ply their former Arts below:  
 And as they sail in *Charon's* Boat,  
 Contrive to bribe the Judge's Vote.  
 To *Cerberus* they give a Sop,  
 His triple-barking Mouth to stop:  
 Or in the Iv'ry Gate of Dreams,  
 Project E[xcis]e and S[outh-Sea] Schemes  
 Or hire their Party-Pamphleteers;  
 To set *Elysium* by the Ears.

THEN, *Poet*, if you mean to thrive,  
 Employ your Muse on Kings alive;  
 With Prudence gath'ring up a Cluster  
 Of all the Virtues you can muster:  
 Which form'd into a Garland sweet,  
 Lay humbly at your M[onarch]'s Feet;  
 Who, as the Odours reach his Throne,  
 Will smile, and think 'em all his own:  
 For, *Law* and *Gospel* both determine,  
 All Virtues lodge in Royal Ermine.

(I mean the Oracles of both,  
Who shall depose it upon Oath.)  
Your Garland in the foll'wing Reign,  
Change but the Names, will serve again.

BUT if you think this Trade too base,  
(Which seldom is the Dunce's Case)  
Put on the Critick's Brow, and sit  
At *Will's*, the puny Judge of Wit.  
A Nod, a Shrug, a scornful Smile,  
With Caution us'd, may serve a-while.  
Proceed no further in your Part,  
Before you learn the Terms of Art:  
(For you can never be too far gone,  
In all our modern Criticks Jargon.)  
Then talk with more authentick Face,  
Of *Unities*, in *Time and Place*.  
Get Scraps of *Horace* from your Friends,  
And have them at your Finger's Ends.  
Learn *Aristotle's* Rules by Rote,  
And at all Hazards boldly quote:  
Judicious *Rymer* oft review:  
Wise *Dennis*, and profound *Bossu*.  
Read all the *Prefaces* of *Dryden*,  
For these our Criticks much confide in,  
(Tho' meerly writ at first for filling,  
To raise the Volumes Price, a Shilling.)

A FORWARD Critick often dupes us  
With sham Quotations *Peri Hupsous*:  
And if we have not read *Longinus*,  
Will magisterially out-shine us.  
Then, lest with *Greek* he over-run ye,  
Procure the Book for Love or Money,



Translated from *Boileau's* Translation,  
And quote *Quotation* on *Quotation*.

AT *Will's* you hear a Poem read,  
Where *Battus* from the Table-head,  
Reclining on his Elbow-chair,  
Gives Judgment with decisive Air.  
To him the Tribe of circling Wits,  
As to an Oracle, submits.  
He gives Directions to the Town,  
To cry it up, or run it down.  
(Like *Courtiers*, when they send a Note,  
Instructing *Members* how to vote.)  
He sets the Stamp of Bad and Good,  
Tho' not a Word be understood.  
Your Lesson learnt, you'll be secure  
To get the Name of *Connoisseur*.  
And when your Merits once are known,  
Procure Disciples of your own.

FOR Poets (you can never want 'em,  
Spread thro *Augusta Trinobantum*)  
Computing by their Pecks of Coals,  
Amount to just Nine Thousand Souls.  
These o'er their proper Districts govern,  
Of Wit and Humour, Judges sov'reign.  
In ev'ry Street a City-bard  
Rules, like an Alderman his Ward.  
His indisputed Rights extend  
Thro' all the *Lane*, from End to End.  
The Neighbours round admire his *Shrewdness*,  
For Songs of *Loyalty* and *Lewdness*:  
Out-done by none in Rhyming well,  
Altho' he never learnt to spell.

Two bord'ring Wits contend for Glory;  
 And one is *Whig*, and one is *Tory*.  
 And this, for Epicks claims the Bays,  
 And that, for Elegiack Lays.  
 Some fam'd for Numbers soft and smooth,  
 By Lovers spoke in *Punch's* Booth.  
 And some as justly Fame extols  
 For lofty Lines in *Smithfield* Drolls.  
*Bavius* in *Wapping* gains Renown,  
 And *Mævius* reigns o'er *Kentish-Town*:  
*Tigellius* plac'd in *Phæbus'* Car,  
 From *Ludgate* shines to *Temple-Bar*.  
*Harmonius Cibber* entertains  
 The Court with annual Birth-day Strains;  
 Whence *Gay* was banish'd in Disgrace,  
 Where *Pope* will never show his Face;  
 Where *Y[oun]g* must torture his Invention,  
 To flatter *Knaves*, or lose his *Pension*.

BUT these are not a thousandth Part  
 Of Jobbers in the Poet's Art,  
 Attending each his proper Station,  
 And all in due Subordination;  
 Thro' ev'ry Alley to be found,  
 In Garrets high, or under Ground:  
 And when they join their *Pericranies*,  
 Out skips a *Book of Miscellanies*.

*HOBBS* clearly proves that ev'ry Creature  
 Lives in a State of War by Nature.  
 The Greater for the Smaller watch,  
 But meddle seldom with their Match.  
 A Whale of mod'rate Size will draw  
 A Shole of Herrings down his Maw;



A Fox with Geese his Belly crams;  
A Wolf destroys a thousand Lambs.  
But, search among the rhiming Race,  
The *Brave* are worry'd by the Base.  
If, on *Parnassus'* Top you sit,  
You rarely bite, are always bit:  
Each Poet of inferior Size  
On you shall rail and criticize;  
And try to tear you Limb from Limb,  
While others do as much for him:  
The Vermin only teaze and pinch  
Their Foes superior by an Inch.  
So, Nat'ralists observe, a Flea  
Hath smaller Fleas that on him prey,  
And these have smaller yet to bite 'em;  
And so proceed *ad infinitum*:  
Thus ev'ry Poet in his Kind,  
Is bit by him that comes behind;  
Who, tho' too little to be seen,  
Can teaze, and gall, and give the Spleen;  
Call Dunces, Fools, and Sons of Whores,  
Lay *Grubstreet* at each others Doors:  
Extol the *Greek* and *Roman* Masters,  
And curse our modern Poetasters:  
Complain, as many an ancient Bard did,  
How Genius is no more rewarded;  
How wrong a Taste prevails among us;  
How much our Ancestors out-sung us;  
Can personate an aukward Scorn  
For those who are not Poets born:  
And all their Brother Dunces lash,  
Who crowd the Press with hourly Trash.

O, *Grub-street*! how do I bemoan thee,  
 Whose graceless Children scorn to own thee!  
 Their filial Piety forgot,  
 Deny their Country like a SCOT:  
 Tho' by their Idiom and Grimace  
 They soon betray their native Place:  
 Yet *thou* hast greater Cause to be  
 Asham'd of them, than they of thee;  
 Degen'rate from their ancient Brood,  
 Since first the C[our]t allow'd them Food.

REMAINS a Difficulty still,  
 To purchase Fame by writing ill:  
 From *Flecnœ* down to *Howard*'s time,  
 How few have reach'd the *low Sublime*?  
 For when our high-born *Howard* dy'd,  
*Blackmore* alone his Place supply'd:  
 And least a Chasm should intervene,  
 When Death had finish'd *Blackmore*'s Reign,  
 The *leaden Crown* devolv'd to thee,  
 Great Poet of the *Hollow-Tree*.  
 But, oh, how unsecure thy Throne!  
 Ten thousand Bards thy Right disown:  
 They plot to turn in factious Zeal,  
*Duncenia* to a Common-weal;  
 And with rebellious Arms pretend  
 An equal Priv'lege to *descend*.

IN Bulk there are not more Degrees,  
 From *Elephants* to *Mites* in Cheese,  
 Than what a curious Eye may trace  
 In Creatures of the rhiming Race.  
 From bad to worse, and worse they fall,  
 But, who can reach to worst of all?



For, tho' in Nature, Depth and Height  
 Are equally held infinite,  
 In Poetry the Height we know;  
 'Tis only infinite below.  
 For Instance: When you rashly think,  
 No Rhymer can like *Welsted* sink:  
 His Merits balanc'd you shall find,  
 The Laureat leaves him far behind.  
*Concannen*, more aspiring Bard,  
 Soars *downwards*, deeper, by a Yard:  
 Smart *Jemmy Moor* with Vigour drops,  
 The rest pursue as thick as Hops:  
 With Heads to Points the Gulph they enter,  
 Linkt perpendic'lar to the Center:  
 And as their Heels elated rise,  
 Their Heads attempt the nether Skies.

O, WHAT Indignity and Shame  
 To prostitute the Muse's Name,  
 By flatt'ring [Kings] whom Heav'n design'd  
 The Plague and Scourges of Mankind.  
 Bred up in Ignorance and Sloth,  
 And ev'ry Vice that nurses both.

FAIR *Britain*, in thy Monarch blest,  
 Whose Virtues bear the strictest Test;  
 Whom never *Faction* can bespatter,  
 Nor *M[inister]* nor *Poet* flatter.  
 What Justice in rewarding Merit?  
 What Magnanimity of Spirit?  
 What Lineaments Divine we trace  
 Thro' all his Figure, Mien and Face;  
 Tho' Peace with Olive bind his Hands,  
 Confest the Conqu'ring Hero stands.

*Hydaspes, Indus, and the Ganges,*  
Dread from his Arm impending Changes.  
From him the *Tartar*, and *Chinese*,  
*Short by the Knees* intreat for Peace.  
The *Consort* of his Throne and Bed,  
A perfect Goddess born and bred:  
Appointed sov'reign Judge to sit  
On Learning, Eloquence and Wit.  
Our eldest Hope, divine *Iulus*,  
(Late, very late, O, may he rule us.)  
What early Manhood has he shown,  
Before his downy Beard was grown!  
Then think what Wonders will be done  
By going on as he begun;  
An Heir for *Britain* to secure  
As long as Sun and Moon endure.

THE Remnant of the Royal Blood,  
Comes pouring on me like a Flood.  
Bright Goddesses, in Number five;  
Duke *William*, sweetest Prince alive.

Now sing the *Minister* of *State*,  
Who shines alone, without a Mate.  
Observe with what Majestick Port  
This *Atlas* stands to prop the Court:  
Intent the publick Debts to pay,  
Like prudent *Fabius*, by *Delay*.  
Thou great Vicegerent of the King,  
Thy Praises every Muse shall sing:  
In all Affairs thou sole Director,  
Of Wit and Learning chief Protector;  
Tho' small the Time thou hast to spare,  
The Church is thy peculiar Care.



Of pious Prelates what a Stock  
 You chuse to rule the sable Flock!  
 You raise the Honour of the Peerage,  
 Proud to attend you at the Steerage.  
 You dignify the Noble Race,  
 Content your self with humbler Place.  
 Now Learning, Valour, Virtue, Sense,  
 To Titles give the sole Pretence.  
 St. *George* beheld thee with Delight,  
*Vouchsafe* to be an azure Knight,  
 When on thy Breast and Sides *Herculean*,  
 He fixt the *Star* and *String Cerulean*.

SAY, Poet, in what other Nation,  
 Shone ever such a Constellation.  
 Attend ye *Popes* and *Youngs*, and *Gays*,  
 And tune your Harps, and strow your Bays.  
 Your Panegyricks here provide,  
 You cannot err on *Flatt'ry's* Side.  
 Above the Stars exalt your Stile,  
 You still are low ten thousand Mile.  
 On *Lewis* all his Bards bestow'd,  
 Of Incense many a thousand Load;  
 But *Europe*, mortify'd his Pride,  
 And swore the fawning Rascals ly'd:  
 Yet what the World refus'd to *Lewis*,  
 Apply'd to [*George*] exactly true is:  
 Exactly true! Invidious Poet!  
 'Tis fifty thousand Times below it.

TRANSLATE me now some Lines, if you can,  
 From *Virgil*, *Martial*, *Ovid*, *Lucan*;  
 They could all Pow'r in Heaven divide,  
 And do no Wrong to either Side:

They'll teach you how to split a Hair,  
 Give [*George*] and *Jove* an equal Share.  
 Yet, why should we be lac'd so strait;  
 I'll give my [Monarch], *Butter-weight*,  
 And Reason good; for, many a Year  
*Jove* never intermeddl'd here:  
 Nor, tho' his Priests be duly paid,  
 Did ever we *desire* his Aid:  
 We now can better do without him,  
 Since *Woolston* gave us Arms to rout him,

\* \* \* \* \* *Cætera desiderantur* \* \* \* \* \*



# IRELAND

A  
LETTER  
TO THE  
*Shop-Keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers,*  
AND  
Common-People of *Ireland,*  
CONCERNING THE  
BRASS HALF-PENCE  
Coined by one *WILLIAM WOOD,*  
etc.  
By *M. B. DRAPIER.*

To the *Tradesmen, Shop-Keepers, Farmers, and Country-People*  
in General, of the Kingdom of *Ireland.*

*Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects.*

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your Duty to God, and the Care of your Salvation, of the greatest Concern to your selves, and your Children; your *Bread* and *Cloathing*, and every common Necessary of Life depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less Expence, I have ordered the Printer to sell it at the lowest Rate.

It is a great Fault among you, that when a Person writes with no other Intention than *to do you Good, you will not be at the*

*Pains to read his Advices:* One Copy of this Paper may serve a Dozen of you, which will be less than a Farthing apiece. It is your Folly, that you have no common or general Interest in your View, not even the Wisest among you; neither do you know or enquire, or care who are your Friends, or who are your Enemies.

ABOUT four Years ago, a little Book was written to advise all People to wear the *Manufactures of this our own Dear Country*: It had no other Design, said nothing against the *King or Parliament*, or *any* Person whatsoever, yet the POOR PRINTER was prosecuted two Years, with the utmost Violence; and even some WEAVERS themselves, for whose Sake it was written, being upon the JURY, FOUND HIM GUILTY. This would be enough to discourage any Man from endeavouring to do you Good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his Face for his Pains; and when he must expect only *Danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his Ruin.

HOWEVER, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest Destruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave your selves as you ought.

I WILL therefore first tell you the *plain Story of the Fact*; and then I will lay before you, how you ought to act in common Prudence, and according to the *Laws of your Country*.

*THE Fact is thus*; It having been many Years since COPPER HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGs were last Coined in this *Kingdom*, they have been for some Time very scarce, and many *Counterfeits* passed about under the Name of RAPS: Several Applications were made to *England*, that we might have Liberty to *Coin New Ones*, as in former Times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. WOOD, a mean ordinary Man, a Hard-Ware Dealer, procured a *Patent* under His MAJESTY'S BROAD SEAL, to coin 108000 *l.* in *Copper* for this *Kingdom*; which Patent however did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the HALF-PENCE and FAR-



THINGS in *England* pass for very little more than they are worth: And if you should beat them to Pieces, and sell them to the *Brazier*, you would not lose much above a Penny in a Shilling. But Mr. WOOD made his HALF-PENCE of such *Base Metal*, and so much smaller than the *English* ones, that the *Brazier* would hardly give you above a *Penny* of good Money for a *Shilling* of his; so that this Sum of 108000 *l.* in good Gold and Silver, must be given for TRASH that will not be worth above *Eight* or *Nine Thousand Pounds* real Value. But this is not the Worst; for Mr. WOOD, when he pleases, may by Stealth send over *another* 108000 *l.* and buy *all our Goods for Eleven Parts in Twelve*, under the Value. For example, if a *Hatter* sells a Dozen of *Hats* for *Five Shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *Three Pounds*, and receives the Payment in Mr. WOOD's Coin, he really receives only the Value of *Five Shillings*.

PERHAPS you will wonder how such *an ordinary Fellow* as this Mr. WOOD could have so much Interest as to get His MAJESTY's Broad Seal for so great a Sum of bad Money, to be sent to this poor Country; and that all the *Nobility* and *Gentry* here could not obtain the same Favour, and let us make our own HALF-PENCE, as we used to do. Now I will make that Matter very plain. We are at a great Distance from the *King's Court*, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great Number of *Lords* and *Squires*, whose Estates are here, and are our Countrymen, spend all their *Lives* and *Fortunes* there. But this same Mr. WOOD was able to attend constantly for his own Interest; he is an ENGLISHMAN and had GREAT FRIENDS, and it seems knew very well *where to give Money*, to those that would speak to OTHERS that could speak to the KING, and would tell a FAIR STORY. And His MAJESTY, and perhaps the great Lord or Lords who advised him, might think it was for our *Country's Good*; and so, as the Lawyers express it, the KING was deceived in his Grant; which often happens in *all Reigns*. And I am sure if His MAJESTY knew that such a Patent, if it should take Effect

according to the Desire of Mr. WOOD, would utterly ruin this Kingdom, which hath given such great Proofs of its *Loyalty*; he would immediately recall it, and perhaps shew his Displeasure to SOME BODY OR OTHER: *But a Word to the Wise is enough.* Most of you must have heard with what Anger our *Honourable House of Commons* received an Account of this WOOD'S PATENT. There were several *Fine Speeches* made upon it, and plain Proofs, that it was all a WICKED CHEAT from the *Bottom to the Top*; and several *smart Votes* were printed, which that same WOOD had the Assurance to answer likewise in *Print*, and in so confident a Way, as if he were a better Man than our whole Parliament put together.

THIS WOOD, as soon as his *Patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *Barrels of those HALF-PENCE*, to *Cork* and other *Sea Port Towns*, and to get them off, offered an *Hundred Pounds* in his *Coin* for *Seventy or Eighty* in *Silver*: But the *Collectors* of the KING'S Customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the Parliament hath condemned them, and desired the KING that they might be stopped, all the *Kingdom* do abominate them.

BUT WOOD is still working *under hand* to force his HALF-PENCE upon us; and if he can by help of his *Friends* in *England* prevail so far as to get an Order that the *Commissioners* and *Collectors* of the King's Money shall receive them, and that the *Army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his Work shall be done*. And this is the Difficulty you will be under in such a *Case*: For the common Soldier when he goes to the *Market* or *Ale-house*, will offer this Money, and if it be refused, perhaps he will *swagger* and *hector*, and *threaten* to *beat* the *Butcher* or *Ale-wife*, or take the Goods by Force, and throw them the bad HALF-PENCE. In this and the like Cases, the *Shop-keeper*, or *Victualler*, or any other *Tradesman* has no more to do, than to demand ten times the Price of his Goods, if it is to be paid in WOOD'S Money; for Example, Twenty Pence of that Money for a *Quart*



of *Ale*, and so in all things else, and not part with his Goods till he gets the *Money*.

FOR suppose you go to an *Ale-house* with that base Money, and the *Landlord* gives you a Quart for Four of these HALF-PENCE, what must the *Victualler* do? His *Brewer* will not be paid in that Coin, or if the *Brewer* should be such a Fool, the *Farmers* will not take it from them for their *Bere*, because they are bound by their Leases to pay their Rents in Good and Lawful Money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the *Squire* their *Landlord* will never be so bewitched to take such *Trash* for his Land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops it is the same Thing, and we are all undone.

THE common Weight of these HALF-PENCE is between four and five to an *Ounce*; suppose five, then three Shillings and four Pence will weigh a Pound, and consequently *Twenty Shillings* will weigh *Six Pounds Butter Weight*. Now there are many hundred *Farmers* who pay Two hundred Pounds a Year Rent: Therefore when one of these *Farmers* comes with his Half-Year's Rent, which is One hundred Pound, it will be at least Six hundred Pound weight, which is Three Horses Load.

IF a *Squire* has a mind to come to Town to buy Cloaths and Wine and Spices for himself and Family, or perhaps to pass the Winter here; he must bring with him five or six Horses loaden with *Sacks* as the *Farmers* bring their Corn; and when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it must be followed by a Car loaded with Mr. WOOD's Money. And I hope we shall have the Grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

THEY say SQUIRE CONOLLY has *Sixteen Thousand Pounds a Year*; now if he sends for his *Rent* to Town, as it is likely he does, he must have *Two Hundred and Fifty Horses* to bring up his *Half Year's Rent*, and two or three great *Cellars* in his House for Stowage. But what the Bankers will do I cannot tell. For I am

assured, that some great Bankers keep by them *Forty Thousand Pounds* in ready Cash to answer all Payments, which Sum in Mr. Wood's Money, would require Twelve Hundred Horses to carry it.

FOR my own Part, I am already resolved what to do; I have a pretty good Shop of *Irish Stuffs* and *Silks*, and instead of taking Mr. Wood's bad Copper, I intend to Truck with my Neighbours the *Butchers*, and *Bakers*, and *Brewers*, and the rest, *Goods for Goods*, and the little *Gold* and *Silver* I have, I will keep by me like my *Heart's Blood* till better Times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. Wood's Money, as my Father did the Brass Money in King *James's* Time; who could buy *Ten Pound* of it with a *Guinea*, and I hope to get as much for a *Pistole*, and so purchase *Bread* from those who will be such Fools as to sell it me.

THESE *Half-pence*, if they once pass, will soon be *Counterfeit*, because it may be cheaply done, the *Stuff* is so *Base*. The *Dutch* likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *Goods*; and Mr. Wood will never be at rest, but coin on: So that in some Years we shall have at least five Times 108000*l.* of this *Lumber*. Now the current Money of this Kingdom is not reckoned to be above Four Hundred Thousand Pounds in all; and while there is a *Silver Six-Pence* left, these *Blood-suckers* will never be quiet.

WHEN once the *Kingdom* is reduced to such a Condition, I will tell you what must be the End: The *Gentlemen of Estates* will all turn off their *Tenants* for want of Payment; because, as I told you before, the *Tenants* are obliged by their Leases to pay *Sterling*, which is Lawful Current Money of *England*; then they will turn their own *Farmers*, as too many of them do already, run all into *Sheep* where they can, keeping only such other *Cattle* as are necessary; then they will be their own *Merchants*, and send their *Wool*, and *Butter*, and *Hides*, and *Linnen* beyond Sea for ready *Money*, and *Wine*, and *Spices*, and *Silks*. They will keep



only a few miserable *Cottagers*. The *Farmers* must *Rob* or *Beg*, or leave their *Countrey*. The *Shop-keepers* in this and every other Town, must *Break* and *Starve*: For it is the *Landed-man* that maintains the *Merchant*, and *Shop-keeper*, and *Handicrafts-Man*.

BUT when the *Squire* turns *Farmer* and *Merchant* himself, all the good Money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for *England*, and keep some poor *Taylor* or *Weaver*, and the like, in his own House, who will be glad to get Bread at any Rate.

I SHOULD never have done, if I were to tell you all the Miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *Foolish* and *Wicked* as to take this *Cursed Coin*. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* should be put into *One Scale*, and *this sorry Fellow WOOD* into the *other*: That Mr. WOOD should weigh down *this whole Kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a Million of good Money every Year clear into their *Pockets*: And that is more than the *English* do by *all the World besides*.

BUT your *great Comfort* is, that, as his Majesty's *Patent* doth not oblige you to take this *Money*, so the *Laws* have not given the *Crown* a Power of forcing the *Subjects* to take what *Money* the *King* pleases: For then by the same Reason we might be bound to take *Pebble-stones*, or *Cockle-shells*, or *stamped Leather* for *Current Coin*; if ever we should happen to live under an ill *Prince*; who might likewise by the same Power make a *Guinea* pass for Ten Pounds, a *Shilling* for Twenty Shillings, and so on; by which he would in a short Time get all the *Silver* and *Gold* of the *Kingdom* into his own Hands, and leave us nothing but *Brass* or *Leather*, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more *Cruel* or *Oppressive* in the *French Government*, than their common Practice of calling in all their Money after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it a-new at a much higher Value; which however is not the Thousandth Part so wicked as this *abominable Project* of Mr. Wood. For the *French* give their Subjects *Silver* for *Silver*, and *Gold* for *Gold*; but this

*Fellow* will not so much as give us good *Brass* or *Copper* for our *Gold* and *Silver*, nor even a Twelfth Part of their Worth.

HAVING said this much, I will now go on to tell you the Judgments of some great *Lawyers* in this Matter; whom I fee'd on purpose for your Sakes, and got their *Opinions* under their *Hands*, that I might be sure I went upon good Grounds.

A Famous Law-Book called the *Mirroure of Justice*, discoursing of the *Charters* (or *Laws*) ordained by our Ancient Kings, declares the Law to be as follows: It was ordained that no King of this Realm should Change, or Impair the Money, or make any other Money than of Gold or Silver without the Assent of all the Counties, that is, as my Lord Coke says, without the Assent of Parliament.

THIS Book is very Ancient, and of great Authority for the Time in which it was wrote, and with that Character is often quoted by that great Lawyer my Lord Coke. By the Laws of *England*, [the] several Metals are divided into *Lawful* or *true Metal* and *unlawful* or *false Metal*; the Former comprehends *Silver* or *Gold*, the Latter all *Baser Metals*: That the Former is only to pass in Payments, appears by an Act of *Parliament* made the Twentieth Year of *Edward* the First, called the *Statute concerning the passing of Pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into *English*; For some of our *Laws* at that time were, as I am told, writ in *Latin*: *Whoever in Buying or Selling presumeth to refuse an Half-penny or Farthing of Lawful Money, bearing the Stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a Contemner of the King's Majesty, and cast into Prison.*

By this *Statute*, no Person is to be reckoned a *Contemner* of the *King's Majesty*, and for that Crime to be committed to *Prison*; but he who refuseth to accept the King's Coin made of *Lawful Metal*: by which as I observed before, *Silver* and *Gold* only are intended.

THAT this is the true *Construction* of the *Act*, appears not only from the plain Meaning of the Words, but from my Lord Coke's Observation upon it. By this Act (says he) it appears,



that no Subject can be forced to take in *Buying* or *Selling* or other *Payments*, any Money made but of lawful Metal; that is, of *Silver* or *Gold*.

THE Law of *England* gives the King all Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*, but not the Mines of other *Metals*; the Reason of which *Prerogative* or *Power*, as it is given by my Lord *Coke*, is because Money can be made of *Gold* and *Silver*; but not of other Metals.

PURSUANT to this Opinion, *Half-pence* and *Farthings* were anciently made of *Silver*, which is evident from the Act of *Parliament* of Henry the IVth. Chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great Scarcity that is at present within the Realm of England of Half-pence and Farthings of Silver; it is ordained and established, that the Third Part of all the Money of Silver Plate which shall be brought to the Bullion, shall be made in Half-pence and Farthings.* This shews that by the Words *Half-penny* and *Farthing* of Lawful Money in that Statute concerning the *passing of Pence*, is meant a small Coin in *Half-pence* and *Farthings of Silver*.

THIS is further manifest from the Statute of the Ninth Year of *Edward* the IIIrd. Chap. 3. which enacts, *That no sterling Half-penny or Farthing be Molten for to make Vessels, or any other thing by the Gold-smiths, nor others, upon Forfeiture of the Money so molten (or melted.)*

By another Act in this *King's* Reign, *Black Money* was not to be current in *England*. And by an Act made in the Eleventh Year of his Reign, Chap. 5. *Galley Half-pence* were not to pass: What kind of *Coin* these were I do not know; but I presume they were made of *Base Metal*. And these Acts were no New *Laws*, but further Declarations of the old *Laws* relating to the *Coin*.

THUS the *Law* stands in Relation to *Coin*. Nor is there any Example to the contrary, except one in *Davis's Reports*; who tells us, that in the time of *Tyrone's* Rebellion, *Queen Elizabeth* ordered *Money of mixt Metal* to be coined in the Tower of

*London*, and sent over hither for Payment of the *Army*; obliging all People to receive it; and Commanding, that all *Silver Money* should be taken only as *Bullion*, that is, for as much as it weighed. *Davis* tells us several Particulars in this Matter too long here to trouble you with, and that the *Privy Council* of this *Kingdom* obliged a *Merchant* in *England* to receive this *mixt Money* for Goods transmitted hither.

BUT this Proceeding is rejected by all the best Lawyers, as contrary to Law, the *Privy Council* here having no such legal Power. And besides it is to be considered, that the *Queen* was then under great Difficulties by a Rebellion in this *Kingdom* assisted from *Spain*. And, whatever is done in great Exigences and dangerous Times, should never be an Example to proceed by in Seasons of *Peace* and *Quietness*.

I WILL now, my dear Friends, to save you the Trouble, set before you in short, what the *Law* obliges you to do; and what it does not oblige you to.

FIRST, you are obliged to take all Money in Payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the *English* Standard or Weight; provided it be of *Gold* or *Silver*.

SECONDLY, you are not obliged to take any Money which is not of *Gold* or *Silver*; not only the *Half-pence* or *Farthings* of *England*, but of any other Country. And it is meerly for Convenience, or Ease, that you are content to take them; because the Custom of coining *Silver Half-pence* and *Farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose, on Account of their being subject to be lost.

THIRDLY, Much less are we obliged to take those *Vile Half-pence* of that same *Wood*, by which you must lose almost Eleven-Pence in every Shilling.

THEREFORE, my Friends, stand to it One and All: Refuse this *Filthy Trash*. It is no Treason to rebel against Mr. *Wood*. His Majesty in his Patent obliges no body to take these *Half-pence*: Our *Gracious Prince* hath no such ill Advisers about him; or if



he had, yet you see the Laws have not left it in the *King's* Power, to force us to take any Coin but what is Lawful, of right Standard, *Gold* and *Silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

AND let me in the next Place apply my self particularly to you who are the poorer Sort of *Tradesmen*: Perhaps you may think you will not be so great Losers as the Rich, if these *Half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any *Silver*, and your Customers come to your Shops or Stalls with nothing but *Brass*; which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my Word, whenever this Money gains Footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *Half-pence* to a Shop for *Tobacco* or *Brandy*, or any other Thing you want; the Shop-keeper will advance his Goods accordingly, or else he must break and leave the *Key under the Door*. Do you think I will sell you a Yard of Ten-penny Stuff for Twenty of Mr. *Wood's Half-pence*? No, not under Two Hundred at least; neither will I be at the Trouble of counting, but weigh them in a Lump. I will tell you one Thing further; that if Mr. *Wood's* Project should take, it will ruin even our Beggars: For when I give a Beggar a Half-penny, it will quench his Thirst, or go a good Way to fill his Belly; but the Twelfth Part of a Half-penny will do him no more Service than if I should give him three Pins out of my Sleeve.

IN short; these *Half-pence* are like the *accursed Thing*, which, as the *Scripture* tells us, the *Children of Israel* were forbidden to touch. They will run about like the *Plague* and destroy every one who lays his Hands upon them. I have heard *Scholars* talk of a Man who told the King that he had invented a Way to torment People by putting them into a *Bull* of Brass with Fire under it: But the *Prince* put the *Projector* first into his own *Brazen Bull* to make the Experiment. This very much resembles the Project of Mr. *Wood*; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. *Wood's* Fate; that the *Brass* he contrived to torment this

*Kingdom* with, may prove his own Torment, and his Destruction at last.

*N.B.* The Author of this Paper is informed by Persons who have made it their Business to be exact in their Observations on the true Value of these *Half-pence*; that any Person may expect to get a Quart of Two-penny Ale for Thirty Six of them.

I DESIRE that all Families may keep this Paper carefully by them to refresh their Memories whenever they shall have farther Notice of Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence, or any other the like Imposture.

## IRELAND

Remove me from this land of slaves  
 Where all are fools, and all are knaves.  
 Where every knave & fool is bought  
 Yet kindly sells himself for nought.  
 Where Whig and Tory fiercely fight  
 Who's in the wrong, who in the right  
 And when their country lyse at stake  
 They onely fight for fighting sake,  
 While English sharpers take the pay,  
 And then stand by to see fair play,  
 Mean time the whig is always winner,  
 And for his courage gets—a dinner.  
 His Excellency too perhaps  
 Spits in his mouth and stroaks his Chaps.  
 The humble whelp gives ev'ry vote.  
 To put the question strains his throat.  
 His Excellency's condescension  
 Will serve instead of a place or pension.  
 When to the window he's trepan'd  
 When my L<sup>d</sup> shakes him by the hand



Or in the presence of beholders,  
 His arms upon the booby's shoulders  
 You quickly see the gudgeon bite,  
 He tells his broth<sup>r</sup> fools at night  
 How well the Governor's inclind,  
 So just, so gentle and so kind.  
 He heard I kept a pack of hounds,  
 And longd to hunt upon my grounds.  
 He s<sup>d</sup> our Ladyes were so fair  
 The Court had nothing to compar[e].  
 But that indeed which pleasd me most  
 He calld my Dol a perfect toast.  
 He whisp<sup>rd</sup> publick things at last,  
 Askt me how our elections past.  
 Some augmentation S<sup>r</sup> You know  
 Would make at least a handsom show  
 New Kings a compliment expect.  
 I shall not offer to direct  
 There are some prating folks in town,  
 But S<sup>r</sup> we must support the Crown.  
 Our Letters say a Jesuite boasts  
 Of some Invasion on your coasts  
 The King is ready when you will  
 To pass another Pop-ry bill  
 And for dissenters he intends  
 To use them as his truest friends  
 I think they justly ought to share  
 In all employm<sup>ts</sup> we can spare.  
 Next for encouragem<sup>t</sup> of spinning,  
 A duty might be layd on linnen  
 An act for laying down the Plough,  
 England will send you corn enough.  
 Anoth<sup>r</sup> act that absentees  
 For licences shall pay no fees.

If Englands friendship you would keep  
 Feed nothing on your lands but sheep  
 But make an act secure and full  
 To hang up all who smuggle wool.  
 And then he kindly give me hints  
 That all our wives should go in Chints.  
 To morrow I shall tell you more,  
 For I'm to dine with him at four.

This was the Speech, and here's the jest  
 His arguments convinc't the rest.  
 Away he runs with zealous hotness  
 Exceeding all the fools of Totness,  
 To move that all the Nation round  
 Should pay a guinea in the pound  
 Yet should this Blothead beg a Place  
 Either from Excellence or grace  
 Tis pre eng[a]ged and in his room  
 Townshends cast Page or Walpole's groom

AN  
 ANSWER  
 TO SEVERAL  
 LETTERS sent me from UNKNOWN HANDS.

*Written in the Year M DCC XXIX.*

I AM very well pleased with the good opinion you express of me, and wish it were any way in my power to answer your expectations, for the service of my country. I have carefully read your several schemes and proposals, which you think should be offered to the parliament. In answer, I will assure you, that, in another place, I have known very good proposals



rejected with contempt by public assemblies, merely because they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the same fate, especially if handed into the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the least interest with one. My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expence, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflection on parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge, who is now gone to his own place. But, let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain, there are several particulars relating to this kingdom (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wished that the parliament would take under their consideration, such as will nowise interfere with England, otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, Gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almost every where scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and saver of his money, who, being possessed of some adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them; and hath assured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five shillings an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But, generally speaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot; no, not near this city, except in a very few places, and in a most wretched manner: Whereas the English are so particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles with less

inconvenience than one mile here. But, since this may be thought too great a reformation, I shall only speak of roads for horses, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third smaller than England; yet, by some natural disadvantages, it would not bear quite the same proportion in value, with the same encouragement. However, it hath so happened, for many years past, that it never arrived to above one eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decrease of trade and increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at least, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our side.

Now, supposing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in England, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the desolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one eighth part so much as those of England, which is a very moderate computation; I do not see why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in six or seven years of the late king, for mending long tracts of impassable ways in several countries of England, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving passage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reason against the same practice here, since the necessity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of stone and gravel as easy to be found, and the workmanship at least twice as cheap. Besides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by so many perch a year; but with a special care to encourage skill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to those of the meaner sort: But against these, no doubt, the wisdom of the nation may, and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deserves the public care,



is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed, by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters, that the red swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the skirts, which are covered with a green coat, easily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moss, like the other. Now the landlords are generally too careless that they suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greatest part of the mischief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural soil, yet, by continuing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a secure summer-pasture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickins, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled-cars with great expence, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be so absurd as to suffer such havock to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of forest-trees are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great submission, must have been owing to a defect of skill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the West-south-west wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-shelter. I have not, indeed, read all the

acts; but, from enquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects of these laws, I have not seen the least, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemens houses, and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest, the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of ash, a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow in the same, or less time, to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabbins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objections against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered, by shewing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life: But my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals to be civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble atchievement to abolish the Irish language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only English on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: Yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very trifling expence; for such I look upon a tax to be, of only six thousand pounds a year, to accomplish so great a work. This would, in a great measure, civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs



and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. The method is plain and simple; and, although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to a degree, that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in England, continuing to carry thither so many wealthy families, the consequences thereof, together with the utter loss of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced such great numbers of weavers and others, to seek their bread in foreign countries, the unhappy practice of stocking such vast quantities of land with sheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: These events, I say, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for several years past. I should heartily wish, therefore, under this miserable dearth of money, that those who are most concerned would think it adviseable to save a hundred thousand pounds a year, which is now sent out of this kingdom to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wise nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind of wisdom a practice so directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what must be the issue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it should be thought proper by wiser heads, that his majesty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own use; I believe no good subject will be under the least apprehension that such a

request could meet with refusal, or the least delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil society, under the proper inspection of its prince, or legislature, to coin money of all usual metals for its own occasions. Every petty prince in Germany, vassal to the Emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have seen in this kingdom several silver pieces, with the inscription of *Civitas Waterford, Droghedagh*, and other towns.

## A MODEST PROPOSAL

FOR

*Preventing the Children of poor People  
in Ireland, from being a Burden to  
their Parents or Country; and for  
making them beneficial to the Publick.*

IT is a melancholly Object to those, who walk through this great Town, or travel in the Country; when they see the *Streets*, the *Roads*, and *Cabbins-doors* crowded with *Beggars* of the Female Sex, followed by three, four, or six Children, *all in Rags*, and importuning every Passenger for an Alms. These *Mothers*, instead of being able to work for their honest Livelyhood, are forced to employ all their Time in stroling, to beg Sustenance for their *helpless Infants*; who, as they grow up, either turn *Thieves* for want of Work; or leave their *dear Native Country*, to *fight for the Pretender in Spain*; or sell themselves to the *Barbadoes*.

I THINK it is agreed by all Parties, that this prodigious Number of Children in the Arms, or on the Backs, or at the *Heels* of their *Mothers*, and frequently of their *Fathers*, is *in the present deplorable State of the Kingdom*, a very great additional Grievance; and therefore whoever could find out a fair, cheap and easy Method of making these Children sound and useful Members



of the Common-wealth; would deserve so well of the Publick, as to have his Statue set up for a Preserver of the Nation.

BUT my Intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the Children of *professed Beggars*: It is of a much greater Extent, and shall take in the whole Number of Infants at a certain Age, who are born of Parents, in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our Charity in the Streets.

As to my own Part, having turned my Thoughts for many Years, upon this important Subject; and maturely weighed the several *Schemes of other Projectors*, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their Computation. It is true, a Child *just dropt from its Dam*, may be supported by her Milk, for a Solar year with little other Nourishment; at most not above the Value of two Shillings; which the Mother may certainly get, or the Value in *Scraps*, by her lawful Occupation of *Begging*: And, it is exactly at one Year old that I propose to provide for them in such a Manner, as, instead of being a Charge upon their *Parents*, or the *Parish*, or *wanting Food and Raiment* for the rest of their Lives; they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the Feeding, and partly to the Cloathing, of many Thousands.

THERE is likewise another great Advantage in my *Scheme*, that it will prevent those *voluntary Abortions*, and that horrid practice of *Women murdering their Bastard Children*; alas! too frequent among us; *Sacrificing the poor innocent Babes*, I doubt, more to avoid the Expence than the Shame; which would move Tears and Pity in the most Savage and inhuman Breast.

THE number of Souls in *Ireland* being usually reckoned one Million and a half; of these I calculate there may be about Two Hundred Thousand Couple whose Wives are Breeders; from which Number I substract thirty thousand Couples, who are able to maintain their own Children; although I apprehend there cannot be so many, under *the present Distresses of the Kingdom*; but this being granted, there will remain an Hundred and Seventy Thousand Breeders. I again substract Fifty Thousand,



for those Women who miscarry, or whose Children die by Accident, or Disease, within the Year. There only remain an Hundred and Twenty Thousand Children of poor Parents, annually born: The Question therefore is, how this Number shall be reared, and provided for? Which, as I have already said, under the present Situation of Affairs, is utterly impossible, by all the Methods hitherto proposed: For we can *neither employ them in Handicraft or Agriculture*; we neither build Houses, (I mean in the Country) nor cultivate Land: They can very seldom pick up a Livelyhood *by Stealing* until they arrive at six Years old; except where they are of towardly parts; although, I confess, they learn the Rudiments much earlier; during which Time, they can, however, be properly looked upon only as *Probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal Gentleman in the County of *Cavan*, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two Instances under the Age of six, even in a Part of the Kingdom *so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that Art*.

I AM assured by our Merchants, that a Boy or Girl before twelve Years old, is no saleable Commodity; and even when they come to this Age, they will not yield above Three Pounds, or Three Pounds and half a Crown at most, on the Exchange; which cannot turn to Account either to the Parents or Kingdom; the Charge of Nutriment and Rags, having been at least four Times that Value.

I SHALL now therefore humbly propose my own Thoughts; which I hope will not be liable to the least Objection.

I HAVE been assured by a very knowing *American* of my Acquaintance in *London*; that a young healthy Child, well Nursed, is, at a Year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome Food; whether *Stewed, Roasted, Baked, or Boiled*; and, I make no doubt, that it will equally serve in a *Fricasie, or Ragoust*.

I DO therefore humbly offer it to *publick Consideration*, that



of the Hundred and Twenty thousand Children, already computed, Twenty thousand may be reserved for Breed; whereof only one Fourth Part to be Males; which is more than we allow to *Sheep, black Cattle, or Swine*; and my Reason is, that these Children are seldom the Fruits of Marriage, *a Circumstance not much regarded by our Savages*; therefore, *one Male* will be sufficient to serve *four Females*. That the remaining Hundred thousand, may, at a Year old, be offered in Sale to the *Persons of Quality and Fortune*, through the Kingdom; always advising the Mother to let them suck plentifully in the last Month, so as to render them plump, and fat for a good Table. A Child will make two Dishes at an Entertainment for Friends; and when the Family dines alone, the fore or hind Quarter will make a reasonable Dish; and seasoned with a little Pepper or Salt, will be very good Boiled on the fourth Day, especially in *Winter*.

I HAVE reckoned upon a Medium, that a Child just born will weigh Twelve Pounds; and in a solar Year, if tolerably nursed, encreaseth to twenty eight Pounds.

I GRANT this Food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very *proper for Landlords*; who, as they have already devoured most of the Parents, seem to have the best Title to the Children.

INFANTS Flesh will be in Season throughout the Year; but more plentiful in *March*, and a little before and after: For we are told by a grave Author, an eminent *French* Physician, that *Fish being a prolific Dyet*, there are more Children born in *Roman Catholick Countries* about Nine Months after *Lent*, than at any other Season: Therefore reckoning a Year after *Lent*, the Markets will be more glutted than usual; because the number of *Popish Infants*, is, at least, three to one in this Kingdom; and therefore it will have one other Collateral Advantage, by lessening the Number of *Papists* among us.

I HAVE already computed the Charge of nursing a Beggar's Child (in which List I reckon all *Cottagers, Labourers*, and Four fifths of the *Farmers*) to be about two Shillings *per Annum*,

Rags included; and I believe, no Gentleman would repine to give Ten Shillings for the *Carcase of a good fat Child*; which, as I have said, will make four Dishes of excellent nutritive Meat, when he hath only some particular Friend, or his own Family, to dine with him. Thus the Squire will learn to be a good Landlord, and grow popular among his Tenants; the Mother will have Eight Shillings net Profit, and be fit for Work until she produceth another Child.

THOSE who are more thrifty (*as I must confess the Times require*) may flay the Carcase; the Skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable *Gloves for Ladies*, and *Summer Boots for fine Gentlemen*.

As to our City of *Dublin*; Shambles may be appointed for this Purpose, in the most convenient Parts of it; and Butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the Children alive, and dressing them hot from the Knife, as we do *roasting Pigs*.

A VERY worthy Person, *a true Lover of his Country*, and whose Virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this Matter, to offer a Refinement upon my Scheme. He said, that many Gentlemen of this Kingdom, having of late destroyed their Deer; he conceived, that the Want of Venison might be well supplied by the Bodies of young Lads and Maidens, not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, nor under twelve; so great a Number of both Sexes in every County being now ready to starve, for Want of Work and Service: And these to be disposed of by their Parents, if alive, or otherwise by their nearest Relations. But with due Deference to so excellent a Friend, and so deserving a Patriot, I cannot be altogether in his Sentiments. For as to the Males, my *American* Acquaintance assured me from frequent Experience, that their Flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our School-boys, by continual Exercise; and their Taste disagreeable; and to fatten them would not answer the Charge. Then, as to the Females, it



would, I think, with humble Submission, *be a Loss to the Publick*, because they soon would become Breeders themselves: And besides it is not improbable, that some scrupulous People might be apt to censure such a Practice (although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon Cruelty; which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest Objection against any Project, how well soever intended.

BUT in order to justify my Friend; he confessed, that this Expedient was put into his Head by the famous *Salmanaazor*, a Native of the Island *Formosa*, who came from thence to *London*, above twenty Years ago, and in Conversation told my Friend, that in his Country, when any young Person happened to be put to Death, the Executioner sold the Carcase to *Persons of Quality*, as a prime Dainty; and that, in his Time, the Body of a plump Girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an Attempt to poison the Emperor, was sold to his Imperial Majesty's prime Minister of State, and other great *Mandarines* of the Court, *in Joints from the Gibbet*, at Four hundred Crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same Use were made of several plump young Girls in this Town, who, without one single Groat to their Fortunes, cannot stir Abroad without a Chair, and appear at a *Play-house*, and *Assemblies* in foreign Fineries, which they never will pay for; the Kingdom would not be the worse.

SOME Persons of a desponding Spirit are in great Concern about that vast Number of poor People, who are Aged, Diseased, or Maimed; and I have been desired to employ my Thoughts what Course may be taken, to ease the Nation of so grievous an Incumbrance. But I am not in the least Pain upon that Matter; because it is very well known, that they are every Day *dying*, and *rotting*, by *Cold* and *Famine*, and *Filth*, and *Vermin*, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the younger Labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a Condition: They cannot get Work, and consequently pine away

for Want of Nourishment, to a Degree, that if at any Time they are accidentally hired to common Labour, they have not Strength to perform it; and thus the Country, and themselves, are in a fair Way of being soon delivered from the Evils to come.

I HAVE too long digressed; and therefore shall return to my Subject. I think the Advantages by the Proposal which I have made, are obvious, and many, as well as of the highest Importance.

FOR, *First*, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen *the Number of Papists*, with whom we are yearly overrun; being the principal Breeders of the Nation, as well as our most dangerous Enemies; and who stay at home on Purpose, with a Design *to deliver the Kingdom to the Pretender*; hoping to take their Advantage by the Absence of *so many good Protestants*, who have chosen rather to leave their Country, than stay at home, and pay Tithes against their Conscience, to an idolatrous *Episcopal Curate*.

SECONDLY, The poorer Tenants will have something valuable of their own, which, by Law, may be made liable to Distress, and help to pay their Landlord's Rent; their Corn and Cattle being already seized, and *Money a Thing unknown*.

THIRDLY, Whereas the Maintenance of an Hundred Thousand Children, from two Years old, and upwards, cannot be computed at less than ten Shillings a Piece *per Annum*, the Nation's Stock will be thereby encreased Fifty Thousand Pounds *per Annum*; besides the Profit of a new Dish, introduced to the Tables of all *Gentlemen of Fortune* in the Kingdom, who have any Refinement in Taste; and the Money will circulate among our selves, the Goods being entirely of our own Growth and Manufacture.

FOURTHLY, The constant Breeders, besides the Gain of Eight Shillings *Sterling per Annum*, by the Sale of their Children, will be rid of the Charge of maintaining them after the first Year.



FIFTHLY, This Food would likewise bring great *Custom to Taverns*, where the Vintners will certainly be so prudent, as to procure the best Receipts for dressing it to Perfection; and consequently, have their Houses frequented by all the *fine Gentlemen*, who justly value themselves upon their Knowledge in good Eating; and a skilful Cook, who understands how to oblige his Guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

SIXTHLY, This would be a great Inducement to Marriage, which all wise Nations have either encouraged by Rewards, or enforced by Laws and Penalties. It would encrease the Care and Tenderness of Mothers towards their Children, when they were sure of a Settlement for Life, to the poor Babes, provided in some Sort by the Publick, to their annual Profit instead of Expence. We should soon see an honest Emulation among the married Women, *which of them could bring the fattest Child to the Market*. Men would become as *fond* of their Wives, during the Time of their Pregnancy, as they are now of their *Mares* in Foal, their *Cows* in Calf, or *Sows* when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them, (as it is too *frequent* a Practice) for fear of a Miscarriage.

MANY other Advantages might be enumerated. For Instance, the Addition of some Thousand Carcasses in our Exportation of barrelled Beef: The Propagation of *Swines Flesh*, and Improvement in the Art of making good *Bacon*; so much wanted among us by the great Destruction of *Pigs*, too frequent at our Tables, which are no way comparable in Taste, or Magnificence, to a well-grown fat yearly Child; which, roasted whole, will make a considerable Figure at a *Lord Mayor's Feast*, or any other publick Entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit; being studious of Brevity.

SUPPOSING that one Thousand Families in this City, would be constant Customers for Infants Flesh; besides others who might have it at *merry Meetings*, particularly at *Weddings* and

*Christenings*; I compute that *Dublin* would take off, annually, about Twenty Thousand Carcasses; and the rest of the Kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining Eighty Thousand.

I CAN think of no one Objection, that will possibly be raised against this Proposal; unless it should be urged, that the Number of People will be thereby much lessened in the Kingdom. This I freely own; and it was indeed one principal Design in offering it to the World. I desire the Reader will observe, that I calculate my Remedy *for this one individual Kingdom of IRELAND, and for no other that ever was, is, or I think ever can be upon Earth*. Therefore, let no Man talk to me of other Expedients: *Of taxing our Absentees at five Shillings a Pound: Of using neither Cloaths, nor Household Furniture; except what is of our own Growth and Manufacture: Of utterly rejecting the Materials and Instruments that promote foreign Luxury: Of curing the Expensiveness of Pride, Vanity, Idleness, and Gaming in our Women: Of introducing a Vein of Parsimony, Prudence and Temperance: Of learning to love our Country; wherein we differ even from LAPLANDERS, and the Inhabitants of TOPINAMBOO: Of quitting our Animosities, and Factions; nor act any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very Moment their City was taken: Of being a little cautious not to sell our Country and Consciences for nothing: Of teaching Landlords to have, at least, one Degree of Mercy towards their Tenants. Lastly, Of putting a Spirit of Honesty, Industry, and Skill into our Shop-keepers; who, if a Resolution could now be taken to buy only our native Goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the Price, the Measure, and the Goodness; nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair Proposal of just Dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.*

THEREFORE, I repeat; let no Man talk to me of these and the like Expedients; till he hath, at least, a Glimpse of Hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere Attempt to put *them in Practice*.



BUT, as to my self; having been wearied out for many Years with offering vain, idle, visionary Thoughts; and at length utterly despairing of Success, I fortunately fell upon this Proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it hath something *solid* and *real*, of no Expence, and little Trouble, full in our own Power; and whereby we can incur no Danger in *disobliging* ENGLAND: For, this Kind of Commodity will not bear Exportation; the Flesh being of too tender a Consistence, to admit a long Continuance in Salt; *although, perhaps, I could name a Country, which would be glad to eat up our whole Nation without it.*

AFTER all, I am not so violently bent upon my own Opinion, as to reject any Offer proposed by wise Men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that Kind shall be advanced, in Contradiction to my Scheme, and offering a better; I desire the Author, or Authors, will be pleased maturely to consider two Points. *First*, As Things now stand, how they will be able to find Food and Raiment; for a Hundred Thousand useless Mouths and Backs? And *secondly*, There being a round Million of Creatures in human Figure, throughout this Kingdom; whose whole Subsistence put into a common Stock, would leave them in Debt two Millions of Pounds *Sterling*; adding those, who are Beggars by Profession, to the Bulk of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers, with their Wives and Children; who are Beggars in Effect; I desire those Politicians, who dislike my Overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an Answer, that they will first ask the Parents of these Mortals, Whether they would not, at this Day, think it a great Happiness to have been sold for Food at a Year old, in the Manner I prescribe; and thereby have avoided such a perpetual Scene of Misfortunes, as they have since gone through; by the *Oppression of Landlords*; the Impossibility of paying Rent, without Money or Trade; the Want of common Sustenance, with neither House nor Cloaths, to cover them from the Inclemencies of the Weather; and the

most inevitable Prospect of intailing the like, or greater Miseries upon their Breed for ever.

I PROFESS, in the Sincerity of my Heart, that I have not the least personal Interest, in endeavouring to promote this necessary Work; having no other Motive than the *publick Good of my Country, by advancing our Trade, providing for Infants, relieving the Poor, and giving some Pleasure to the Rich*. I have no Children, by which I can propose to get a single Penny; the youngest being nine Years old, and my Wife past Child-bearing.

### ON THE IRISH BISHOPS

OLD *Latimer* preaching did fairly describe  
 A B[ishop] who rul'd all the rest of his Tribe;  
 And who is this B[ishop]? And where does he dwell?  
 Why truly 'tis *Satan*, Arch-b[ishop] of Hell:  
 And HE was a Primate, and HE wore a Mitre,  
 Surrounded with Jewels of Sulphur and Nitre.  
 How nearly this B[ishop] our B[ishops] resembles!  
 But his has the Odds, who *believes and who trembles*.  
 Cou'd you see his grim *Grace*, for a Pound to a Penny,  
 You'd swear it must be the *Baboon* of *K[ilkenny]*:  
 Poor *Satan* will think the Comparison odious;  
 I wish I could find him out one more commodious.  
 But this I am sure, the *Most Rev'rend old Dragon*,  
 Has got on the Bench many B[ishop]s suffragan:  
 And all Men believe he presides there *incog*.  
 To give them by Turns an invisible Jog.

OUR B[ishop]s puft up with Wealth and with Pride,  
 To Hell on the Backs of the Clergy wou'd ride;  
 They mounted, and labour'd with Whip and with Spur,  
 In vain—for the Devil a Parson wou'd stir.



So the *Commons* unhors'd them, and this was their Doom,  
 On their Crosiers to ride, like a Witch on a Broom.  
 Tho' they gallop so fast; on the Road you may find 'em,  
 And have left us but Three out of Twenty behind 'em.  
 Lord *B[olton]*'s good Grace, Lord *C[arr]*, and Lord *H[oward]*,  
 In spite of the Devil would still be untoward.  
 They came of good Kindred, and cou'd not endure,  
 Their former Companions should beg at their Door.

WHEN *CHRIST* was betray'd to *Pilate*, the Prætor,  
 In a Dozen Apostles but one prov'd a Traytor!  
 One Traytor alone, and faithful Eleven;  
 But we can afford you Six Traytors in Seven.

WHAT a Clutter with Clippings, Dividings, and Cleavings!  
 And the Clergy, forsooth, must take up with their Leavings.  
 If making *Divisions* was all their Intent,  
 They've done it, we thank 'em, but not as they meant;  
 And so may such B[ishop]s for ever *divide*,  
 That no honest Heathen would be on their Side.  
 How shou'd we rejoice, if, like *Judas* the first,  
 Those Splitters of Parsons in sunder shou'd burst?

Now hear an Allusion!—A Mitre, you know,  
 Is divided above, but united below.  
 If this you consider, our Emblem is right;  
 The B[ishop]s *divide*, but the Clergy *unite*.  
 Should the Bottom be split, our B[ishop]s wou'd dread  
 That the Mitre wou'd never stick fast on their Head,  
 And yet they have learnt the chief Art of a Sov'reign,  
 As *Machiavel* taught 'em; *divide and ye govern*.  
 But, Courage, my L[or]ds, tho' it cannot be said  
 That one *cloven Tongue*, ever sat on your Head;  
 I'll hold you a Groat, and I wish I cou'd see't,  
 If your Stockings were off, you cou'd show *cloven Feet*.

BUT hold, cry the B[ishop]s; and give us fair Play;  
Before you condemn us, hear what we can say.  
What truer Affection cou'd ever be shown,  
Than saving your Souls, by damning our own?  
And have we not practis'd all Methods to gain you;  
With the Tyth of the Tyth of the Tyth to maintain you;  
Provided a Fund for building you Spittles:  
You are only to live four Years without Vittles!  
Content, my good L[or]ds; but let us change Hands;  
First take you our Tyths, and give us your Lands.

So GOD bless the Church, and three of our Mitres;  
And GOD bless the *Commons* for *Biting* the *Biters*.



## NOTES

(F. indicates Faulkner's edition of Swift's works.)

### A Description of the Morning

The poem first appeared in *The Tatler*, no. 9, on April 30, 1709. It is here reprinted from Faulkner, ii. 43.

A sprightly fragment in burlesque of the insipid pastoral style popular at the time, it vividly renders the London street scene. With this and the next poem cf. Gay's *Trivia, or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716).

p. 53. *The Youth with broomy Stumps*. A scavenger probing the filth that collected in the open drain, or 'kennel,' in the street; "To find old Nails," says the note in F. *broomy Stumps*, a worn besom.

p. 53. *The Small-coal Man*. Possibly the Thomas Britton (1654-1714) who lived in Clerkenwell and was famous for his musical gatherings each Thursday evening. See *The Guardian*, no. 144.

p. 53. *Brick-dust Moll*. A street vendor of powdered brick, used as an abrasive cleansing powder.

p. 53. *The Turn-key*, etc. Gaolers demanded payment from their charges for prison privileges and even for the necessities of life. The irony of letting convicted thieves support themselves during imprisonment by further thieving does not escape Swift.

### A Description of a City Shower

The poem appeared in *The Tatler*, no. 238, on October 17, 1710, and Swift was very pleased with its reception. It is a companion piece to *A Description of the Morning*, even more actual in its detailed rendering of common life, and admirably illustrates Swift's ironic precision in fixing for us what he had observed with his clear, unromantic eye. In manner it was perhaps intended as a burlesque imitation of Virgil's *Georgics*, or at any rate of Dryden's translation of them. As the note to l. 26 suggests, he had also in mind pieces of mock-epic such as Garth's *Dispensary* and Dryden's *MacFlecknoe*. Reprinted from Faulkner, ii. 39-42.

- p. 53. *depends*. Is impending.
- p. 53. *Returning Home at Night*, etc. Of his lodgings Swift wrote, "I am almost stunk out of this with the sink, and it helps me to verses in my Shower" (*Journal to Stella*, November 8, 1710). In London houses of the eighteenth century there was frequently an open cesspool at the foot of the basement steps.
- p. 54. *You spend in Coach-hire more than save in Wine*. Swift was always parsimonious about coach-hire and the cost of dining out.
- p. 54. *Aches*. A disyllable pronounced *aitches*.
- p. 54. *Spleen*. Depression of spirits and irritability. The fashionable neurotic malady of the time, especially among women. Cf. pp. 120, 152; and see Matthew Green's poem on the subject, 1737.
- p. 54. *Such is that sprinkling*, etc. Cf. ll. 7-8 of *A Description of the Morning*. Swift seems to be recalling an incident in which he has been the sufferer.
- p. 54. *'Twas doubtful which was Rain, and which was Dust*. A footnote in F. quotes Garth's *Dispensary*, v. 176, "'Tis doubtful which is Sea, and which is Sky."
- p. 54. *Sole Coat, . . . and leaves a cloudy Stain*. In the original version in *The Tatler* these lines ran:
- His only Coat, where Dust confus'd with Rain,  
Roughen the Nap, and leave a mingled Stain.
- p. 54. *devoted*. Cursed, doomed.
- p. 54. *Templer*. A barrister from the Inner or Middle Temple.
- p. 55. *her oil'd Umbrella's Sides*. Umbrellas were then made of oiled silk and used by women only.
- p. 55. *Shed*. A penthouse or sloping projection from a building as a protection against the weather.
- p. 55. *Triumphant Tories, and desponding Whigs*. "N.B. This was the first year of the Earl of Oxford's Ministry." Footnote in F. The Whig Ministry of Godolphin had fallen in August and the Tories were now triumphing in the October elections. Swift's support was already being sought by Harley. See Introduction, pp. 29-30.
- p. 55. *So when Troy Chair-Men*, etc. Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii. 50-3. *Laocoon* was the priest who tried to dissuade the Trojans from bringing the fatal wooden horse into Troy. *Chair-Men*, men employed to carry passengers in sedan chairs.
- p. 55. *Kennels*. See note to p. 53.



p. 55. *Sweepings from Butchers Stalls*, etc.

These three last Lines were intended against that licentious Manner of modern Poets, in making three Rhimes together, which they call *Triplets*; and the last of the three, was two or sometimes more Syllables longer, called an *Alexandrian*. These *Triplets* and *Alexandrians* were brought in by DRYDEN, and other Poets in the Reign of CHARLES II. They were the mere Effect of Haste, Idleness, and want of Money; and have been wholly avoided by the best Poets, since these Verses were written.

Footnote in F. Comparison with a very similar passage written by Swift in a letter of April 12, 1735 (*Correspondence*, ed. F. E. Ball, v. 162) demonstrates that he must have written or dictated this note himself.

### Upon the South-Sea Project

The piece was written in 1720 and sent by Swift to his friend Ford in London, where it was published anonymously in January 1721 as *The Bubble* (though there is no title to Swift's MS.), and in 1728 was titled *The South-Sea*. 1721. Swift had taken great pains with its composition and frequently revised it, adding and omitting passages. The longest version contains fifty-seven stanzas, two more than the text printed here from Faulkner, ii. 147-158. For a full history of the text, see H. Williams, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift* (1937), i. 248-250.

The South Sea Company was founded by Harley in 1711 to restore national credit and to prosecute the trade with Spanish America that would be opened to England at the end of the war. An Act of 1720 encouraged the exchange of funds in the National Debt for stock in the Company. The ensuing wild speculation in this and other less reputable schemes immensely inflated the value of shares until the Bubble broke, in September of the same year, with wide-spread ruin for investors. Swift had invested £1000 in the Company, and there were many other sufferers in Dublin. He lays the blame upon the greed of unscrupulous Directors and the mismanagement of the scheme by the Whig Government. To Swift the Whig party always appeared after 1709 as the instrument of the grasping moneyed men. It was Walpole's skill in restoring the country's finances after the Bubble that secured him in power. See Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1878), i. 321-323, and Viscount Erleigh, *The South Sea Bubble* (1933).

The piece is placed here rather than in the political section because of the fierce moral scorn with which Swift exposes the folly of the investors hardly less than the knavery of the stock-jobbers. It is significant that the prevailing imagery is taken from seafaring and science; at this time Swift was reading many books of travel and scientific observation (subjects that had always interested him) in preparation for *Gulliver's Travels*. These sources suggested appropriate images for a poem on an overseas trading company.

p. 56. *Ye wise Philosophers*. The natural philosophers, *i.e.*, scientists.

p. 56. *these Jugglers*. The Directors of the Company.

p. 56. *In Stock three Hundred Thousand Pounds*. Stock was inflated up to 1000 per cent.

p. 57. *Calenture*. A fever from which sailors often suffered in the tropics. In their delirium they tried to leap overboard, believing the sea to be green fields. For the poetical career of the image see James Sutherland, *A Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry* (1948), pp. 135-136.

p. 57. *Like Pharaoh . . . on the Red-Sea Shore*. Exodus, xiv. 21-30, xv. 4-5. The culminating image of the sequence (calenture—bankrupts' loss of their coaches—Pharaoh's fate) distorts the application by equating the comparatively innocent victims with the evil Pharaoh, and the infamous Directors with God's chosen race of Israelites. The stanzas (ll. 33-40) are not in the MS. copy of the poem, being added or restored later.

p. 57. *Paper Wings*. The shares in the Company.

p. 57. *the Cretan Youth*. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, viii. 183 ff. To escape from Crete, Dædalus devised wings for himself and his son Icarus. The latter ventured too near the sun, the wax securing his wings melted, and he fell into the sea and was drowned.

p. 58. *And swimming never wet a Feather*. The following stanza occurs after this line in the MS:

But I affirm, 'tis false in Fact,  
Directors better know their Tools,  
We see the Nation[s] Credit crackt,  
Each Knave hath [ma]de a thousand Fools.

p. 58. *So when upon a Moon-shine Night*, etc. I cannot find the source of this fable.

p. 59. *So Fishes rising from the Main*, etc. Swift had used the same image before in *Examiner*, no. 15 (14). See p. 130. It is used also in Pope's *Art of Sinking in Poetry* and the details may have



come from Pliny's *Natural History*, ix. 21 and 43, or more probably one of the travel books of Swift's time, for this was a traditional belief among seafarers.

p. 59. *spacious Hoops*. For the fashion of hoop-petticoats "blown up into a most enormous Concave," see Addison, *Tatler*, no. 116, and *Spectator*, no. 127.

p. 59. *Lapland Witches*. Lapland was traditionally the home of witches. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, ii. 665, and the *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* of Olaus Magnus (1555).

p. 59. *Look round, and see how thick it lies!* The following stanza occurs after this line in the MS:

We, Gentlemen, a[re] Your Assisters,  
We'll come and hol[d] you by the Chin,  
Alas! all is not Go[l]d that glisters;  
Ten thousand sunk by leaping in.

p. 60. *Then, like Pactolus*, etc. When Midas rid himself of his uncomfortable gift by bathing in the river Pactolus, a deposit of gold was left in the sands. Cf. *The Fable of Midas*, and the note to p. 143.

p. 60. *a multiplying Glass*. A toy giving numerous reflections of an object by means of a faceted concave lens.

p. 60. *A Jobber's Bill*. The Act of 1720.

p. 60. *One Night a Fool into a Brook*, etc. The source of this fable also eludes me.

p. 60. *Upon the Water*, etc. Ecclesiastes, xi. 1.

p. 61. *There is a Gulph*, etc. In this and the four succeeding stanzas the sin and fate of Satan and the fallen angels are insinuated by subtle echoes from *Paradise Lost*, Book i.

p. 61. *'Change Alley*. Being opposite the Royal Exchange, its three coffee-houses were frequented by merchants and stock-jobbers. Cf. p. 130.

p. 61. *Now bury'd in the Depth below*, etc. The stanza is a paraphrase of Psalm cvii. 26-27.

p. 61. *Garr'way*. "Coffee-House in *'Change-Alley*." Note in F. Many of the deals in stock were made there. It was founded by Thomas Garway.

p. 61. *The Swiss and Dutch whole Millions drain*. Various foreign states, including the Canton of Berne, speculated successfully in South Sea stock.

p. 61. *Cully*. Simpleton, dupe.

- p. 62. *Earl Godwin's Castles*. The Goodwin Sands were by popular tradition supposed to have been an island in Anglo-Saxon times and part of the domain of Earl Godwin. At a later date, it is said, they were neglected and submerged by the sea.
- p. 62. *the Dogs of Nile*. Pliny, *Natural History*, viii. 61.
- p. 62. *Antæus*. A giant who received fresh strength from his mother Earth whenever he was thrown down. Hercules (Alcides) accordingly held him up in the air while he crushed him to death. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iv. 590 ff.
- p. 63. *Oh! may some Western Tempest sweep*, etc. Exodus, x. 12-19. Swift's poem comes as the west wind from Ireland to sweep the Directors away.
- p. 63. *Who lifts the Poor*, etc. Cf. Psalms, xxix, xli, cvii.
- p. 63. *Till those devouring Swine*, etc. Mark, v. 11-13; Luke, viii. 32-33.
- p. 64. *Apparent rari*, etc. Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 118-119. "They are seen floating here and there in the wild ocean; the arms of the men, planks, and the treasure of the Trojans are strewn over the waves."

### The Furniture of a Woman's Mind

Reprinted from Faulkner, ii. 413-416. The piece was written in 1727 and was probably published in Dublin as a broadside at that time. It has generally been regarded as a study for *The Journal of a Modern Lady* (1729). In fact it is more closely related to *A Letter to a Very Young Lady on her Marriage*, written also in 1727, where he soberly advises the young lady how to avoid these inanities. There is no doubt that Swift exercised a remarkable fascination over the women he knew, and though his behaviour was often frightening, he was far from unsympathetic to them.

In Stella (Esther Johnson) he saw a woman wholly admirable in mind, and he had educated her himself. Most others fell short of this standard. He did not consider women innately foolish, regarding them rather as the victims of stupid conventions and an inadequate education, and he had no intention of perpetuating that deficiency by a misguided chivalry. He had indeed a highly civilized conception of the part women might play in the relation of the sexes. For his considered views on the education and behaviour of women see the *Letter* referred to above, and compare his poem *Cadenus and Vanessa*, written c. 1713. Reference should be made to the *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington* (1748; 1928) and to Mr Herbert



Davis's study, *Stella, A Gentlewoman of the Eighteenth Century* (1942). p. 65. *Female Clubs*. No more is intended by the phrase than social gatherings where the expenses of entertainment were often shared.

p. 65. *Patch*. A small piece of black silk or court-plaster worn on the face. Cf. *Spectator*, nos. 57 and 81, on "Party-Patches" and "Party-Rage in Women."

p. 66. *Mrs. Harding*. "A Printer." Footnote in F. The widow of John Harding, the Dublin printer, who carried on the business after the death of her husband in prison (1725), where he had been confined for printing the *Drapier's Letters*. See note to p. 192.

### A Treatise on Good-Manners and Good-Breeding

Reprinted from Delany's *Observations Upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (1754), where it was first printed as an appendix.

From its manner the *Treatise* would seem to have been prepared as an essay for a periodical. The date of composition is unknown. One passage (see below, note to p. 68) is similar to an essay Swift wrote for the *Tatler* in 1710, and most of the illustrations are taken from the court of Queen Anne, though they read like recollections at some distance of time. There exist also some *Hints on Good Manners*, which appear to be draft notes for the *Treatise*. In these Swift claims to "have known the court of England under four reigns." The reign of George II, the last of these, began in 1727, the year that Swift made his final visit to England. The *Hints* were therefore written after 1727, and if the *Treatise* was composed from them, it was most probably intended for *The Intelligencer*, the weekly paper conducted by Swift and Sheridan in 1728. At any rate it did not appear there and the paper ended after nineteen numbers. It would have made a fitting companion to the ninth *Intelligencer*, Swift's *Essay on Modern Education*, as it was later called. Compare also his *Hints towards an Essay on Conversation* (1709).

p. 67. *the practice of duelling*. Swift's irony makes his attitude to duelling appear less humane than that of Steele, for which see *Tatler*, nos. 25, 26, 28, 29, and 39, and *Spectator*, nos. 84 and 97.

p. 68. *too much of it still remains, especially in the Country*. Cf. Swift's essay in *Tatler*, no. 298, March 6, 1710.

p. 68. *Monsieur Buys, the Dutch Envoy*. Burgomaster of Amsterdam and Dutch Minister in London during the last years of the War

of the Spanish Succession. The Tories considered him the confederate of the Whigs, who agreed with the Dutch in opposing the negotiations for peace with France. For Swift's contempt for his boorishness and "inferior sort of cunning" see his *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* and the *Journal to Stella*.

- p. 69. *Lipsius*. Joest Lips, or Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), a famous Flemish humanist and professor at Jena, Leyden, and Louvain. He edited many collections and editions of classical authors.
- p. 69. *the elder Scaliger*. Julius Cæsar Scaliger (1484-1558), a renowned Italian scholar. His vast erudition was marred by arrogance and abusiveness, as when he attacked Erasmus.
- p. 69. *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (1663-1736). One of the most successful allied generals in the War of the Spanish Succession, he was the close friend of Marlborough. Upon the dismissal of the latter (see Introduction, p. 33), the Emperor Charles VI sent Prince Eugène to England to dissuade the new Government from making peace with France. For that reason his visit was unwelcome to Swift and the Tories, though upon his arrival on January 5, 1712, he was received by St John as Secretary of State and magnificently entertained by the nation as a whole. See further *Spectator*, no. 269, and *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*. The incident of the periwig is recorded in the *Journal to Stella*, January 6, 1712.
- p. 70. *Monsieur Hoftman*. This is the spelling of the name in Delany. As resident minister in London of the Austrian Emperor, Johann Philipp von Hoffmann was responsible on this side for arranging the visit of Prince Eugène in 1712. Swift refers to him in the *Journal to Stella* as "that puppy Hoffman." His advice, however, was perfectly sound on this occasion. Queen Anne was punctilious about court etiquette and the decline of Harley's power later on owed something to his appearing in her presence in a tie-wig.
- p. 70. *the circle of Italy*. Later known as the Grand Tour of the principal cities and places of Europe, without which the education of a young man of position was not considered complete.
- p. 71. *the greatest minister I ever knew*. Robert Harley (1661-1724), Earl of Oxford. See Introduction pp. 29-36. Procrastination was one of the few faults with which Swift consistently charged Harley, whom in general he admired above most men. Among other things it resulted in Swift's failing to get appropriate preferment in the Church. See his *Free Thoughts upon the Present*



*State of Affairs and An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry.*

### Directions to Servants: Chap. III. Directions to the Footman

Reprinted from Faulkner, viii. 27-45 (1746) and collated with the first London edition (1745).

In August 1731 Swift wrote to his friend Gay, the poet, that he was engaged upon two great works for the public good:

one to reduce the whole politeness, wit, humour and style of England into a short system for the use of all persons of quality . . . ; the other is of almost equal importance, I may call it the Whole Duty of Servants, in about twenty several stations, from the steward and waiting-woman down to the scullion and pantry-boy.

(*Correspondence*, iv. 258)

The former was published in 1738 as *A Compleat Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation*. The *Directions to Servants* remained unfinished and was published from his MS. by Faulkner in 1745-46. Swift had probably been at work on both since the early years of the century. For his exposure of the petty deceits and pretences of both "the quality" and their menials he marshalled the assorted observations of a lifetime. To servants he was a stern if kindly master and he was not taken in by any of their tricks. Perhaps he got to know their ways early during his first menial days in Sir William Temple's household. His irony sharpens the social documentation without impairing its accuracy. For his exact understanding of the speech and mentality of the servant classes compare his verses, *The Humble Petition of Frances Harris* (1701).

p. 72. *Vails*. Gratuities given to servants, especially by departing guests.

p. 72. *your Master's Daughter*. Cf. p. 83, and see Swift's poem, *Phillis, or, the Progress of Love*, for a tale of a butler's elopement with his master's daughter and their miserable fate.

p. 72. *a Seat reserved for you in the Play-house*. In the London theatres, up till 1737, footmen waiting for their masters were admitted to the gallery without payment.

p. 72. *Skipkennel*. A lackey, footman—i.e., one who has to walk along the kennel or gutter to leave the safer path clear for his master.

p. 72. *Employment in the Custom-house*. Walpole had reorganized

the customs and increased the numbers and powers of customs officers. His opponents, of course, accused him of giving these new employments to his place-men.

p. 73. *Bowl*. The ball of the thumb.

p. 77. *a whole Quarter of the Horn*. Translucent horn was formerly used in the sides of lanterns.

p. 79. *Case Knife*. The term was used for a large table-knife as well as a sheath-knife.

p. 80. *Filemot*. The colour of a dead or faded leaf. French *feuille-morte*.

p. 81. *a privileged Chapel*. A chapel specially licensed for the solemnization of marriages.

p. 82. *Boucher, the famous Gamester*. Richard Bouchier (1657-1702), born in London, a plasterer's son, became a hanger-on at Court as a young man and took to gambling, especially at tennis. Losing his money, he became a footman to John Sheffield (1648-1721), third Earl of Mulgrave and later Duke of Buckingham and Normanby. After winning £500 from his master, he went abroad and fleeced the French and Spaniards, and the Duke of Bavaria. He is said to have amassed £100,000 before returning to England. An entertaining account of him is given by Theophilus Lucas in *The Memoirs of the Lives, Intrigues and Comical Adventures of the most famous Gamesters and celebrated Sharpers, etc.*, second edition (1714), pp. 142-166. For the matter of this note I am indebted to Mr Herbert Davis.

p. 82. *the better Sort of Servants*. Swift probably ranked as one of these when in 1689 he first entered Temple's household.

p. 82. *a Pair of Colours*. The commission of an ensign, the equivalent of a modern second-lieutenant.

p. 82. *translated red-heeled Shoes*. The renovated finery of a gentleman.

p. 83. *Toupees*. Fashionable periwigs with a curled top-knot.

p. 83. *the old Ballad*. An unknown popular street ballad.

p. 83. *Cadets*. Caddies, particularly unemployed servants on the look-out for odd jobs.

p. 83. *an Employment in the Revenue*. Cf. note to p. 72.

p. 83. *to go upon the Road*. Turn highwayman.

p. 84. *at your Tryal*. Not in F. Supplied from MS. fragment in Forster Collection.

p. 84. *Get a Speech to be written by the best Author of Newgate*. The supposed last speeches of condemned criminals (often written by



the prison chaplain) were frequently printed as broadsides and sold by hawkers at the scene of execution.

p. 84. *Lift up your Eyes*. "Eyes" supplied from MS. F. prints "Hands."

p. 84. *The Surgeon shall not touch a Limb of you*. It was usual for the surgeons to obtain the corpses of felons for anatomical dissection.

### The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man

Though apparently not printed before 1711, this piece was ascribed by Swift to the year 1708. Recently it has been argued that he must have written it as early as 1704, or soon after, and that the circumstance that gave rise to it was the party conflict over the Occasional Conformity Bill. (See I. Ehrenpreis, "The Date of Swift's 'Sentiments'," in *The Review of English Studies*, July, 1952.) It is here reprinted from Faulkner, i. 56-90. See further Introduction, pp. 22-25, and cf. *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome* (1701).

p. 85. *both Parties*. The party system of government was only emerging at this time, and Swift was suspicious of it as fostering faction. The political use of the terms Whig and Tory dates from the latter part of Charles II's reign. The distinction between the two parties became clear after the Revolution Settlement in 1689, though ultimately it derives from the conflict between Royalists and Parliamentarians in the Civil War of the seventeenth century.

p. 86. *a Play*. A game of sport or gambling. Other editions read "at Play."

p. 86. *the latter Cato*. Marcus Porcius Cato (95-46 B.C.), a Roman statesman of stern integrity, whom Livy called "the conscience of Rome," "equally above praise and vituperation." Though originally a vigorous opponent of the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, when civil war broke out he decided that he must support Pompey against the absolutist ambitions of Cæsar. In 1713 Addison made him the subject of a tragedy which, like Swift's reference to him here, provided a political tract for the times.

p. 86. *to have made Acquaintance there, more under one Ministry than another*. He first became known to the Whig leaders at the end of William III's reign. Although he had hitherto set his hopes of preferment upon the Whigs, Swift had never committed himself to either party. See Introduction, pp. 22, 27-28.

- p. 87. *Presbytery, and the Religion of the Church of Rome*, etc. The opposite extremes to which only the more fanatical Whigs and Tories tended.
- p. 87. *the abdicated Family*. The Stuarts, exiled in France, and headed since 1701 by James Francis Edward Stuart (1688–1766), son of James II. There were many Jacobites lurking under the right wing of the Tories. See note to p. 106.
- p. 87. *denied the Privilege and Profit of Serving their Country*. The Toleration Act (1689) repealed most of the laws against Dissenters except the Test Act (1673) and Corporation Act (1661), by which those who refused the sacrament of the Church of England were excluded from all public office. See further note to p. 91.
- p. 87. *Free-Thinkers*. Those who refused to accept the dogma and authority of the Church in religion. They upheld Deism or “natural religion,” the belief in a Supreme Being with the rejection of revelation and the supernatural doctrines of Christianity. The term included atheists as well as deists. See further the *Argument against Abolishing Christianity* and his other religious writings of this period, including *Mr. Collins’s Discourse of Free-Thinking, Put into plain English* (1713). Their views are fully discussed by Leslie Stephen in *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (1876).
- p. 88. *those Sects who . . . once destroyed their Constitution*. The Puritan sects in the Civil War.
- p. 88. *the nonjuring Zealots*. The clergy who lost their benefices in 1689 because, accepting the principles of Divine Right and Passive Obedience, they could not in conscience take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.
- p. 88. *Et neuter falso*. “And neither of them falsely.”
- p. 89. *he will not determine whether Episcopacy be of Divine Right*. Though eager to be one himself, Swift was often opposed in practice to the bishops and did not unreservedly accept the doctrine that the authority of the bishops derives from the Apostles and is conveyed by the Laying On of Hands.
- p. 90. *pull down and change the Ornaments of his House*. Cf. the related description in Section vi of *A Tale of a Tub*, where Martin and Jack (the Anglicans and Dissenters) tear the adornments off their coats.
- p. 90. *cast about [for] some new Objections*. All editions except F. include “for.”
- p. 91. *the late Affair of Occasional Conformity*. See note to p. 87.



Dissenters could obtain office by taking the sacrament once in the Church of England. In an attempt to stop this evasion of the Test Act, the Tory House of Commons had on three occasions, in 1702, 1703, and 1704, introduced a Bill for Preventing Occasional Conformity. Each time it was defeated in the Lords by the Whigs, who wished to abolish the Test Act entirely. It was finally passed in 1711, only to be repealed in the reign of George I. Swift may have been writing shortly after the agitation of 1704, or in 1708, when the Whigs were trying to abolish the Test in Ireland.

- p. 91. *the Bishop of Salisbury's Opinion*. "Dr. Burnet." Footnote in F. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury since 1689, was a leader of the Whigs. His speech was made on December 1, 1703, and published the following year. For his account of the parliamentary struggle see his *History of His Own Time* (1833 edition), v. 49-54.
- p. 92. *The Dutch*. In 1581, after continued religious persecution and warfare, the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands renounced their allegiance to Spain. The new state survived and grew in strength, despite the inherent weakness in its loose federation of small sovereign republics in a States General and the constant pressure of its powerful neighbours. Its continuance and rise to power had depended much on the immense growth of its trade, the ability of the house of Orange to hold the provinces together, and, to a lesser degree, on the readiness with which it admitted Protestant refugees during the fierce religious wars that racked Europe throughout the seventeenth century. The national religion was Calvinism. The French designs upon the Netherlands were a main issue in the War of the Spanish Succession. See J. L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856), H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe* (1936), chapter xv, and C. V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent* (1944).
- p. 92. *One single Compliance*, etc. "When this was written, there was no Law against Occasional Conformity." Footnote in F. See above, notes to pp. 87, 91.
- p. 93. *I will suppose any of the numerous Sects in Holland*, etc. This supposition is in fact a tendentious summary of the course of the Civil War in England.
- p. 93. *those Indignities, and that Contempt*, etc. Swift always exacted full reverence for his cloth and traced many of the evils of his age to disrespect towards the clergy. See further *A Project for the Advancement of Religion* (1709), where he writes, "it is certain,

that Men must be brought to esteem and love the Clergy, before they can be persuaded to be in love with Religion."

- p. 93. *their weekly Papers*. Such as John Tutchin's *Observer* (1702-12).
- p. 93. *they insult the Universities*. By the Whigs the University of Oxford was frequently accused, not without some justification, of being a hot-bed of Jacobitism. Though a friend to the Universities, Swift, as *A Project for the Advancement of Religion* demonstrates, was well aware of the pernicious consequences of their loose discipline at this time.
- p. 94. *Opposition was made to the Usurpations of King James, etc.* Notably by the seven bishops who in 1688 stood out against James II's attempt to have his second Declaration of Indulgence read in the churches. Both Universities, in fact, opposed him. At Cambridge the Vice-Chancellor was deprived of his office for resisting the royal mandate to give a degree to a Benedictine monk.
- p. 94. *the Provocations they had met from the Church in King Charles's Reign*. Particularly the disabling Acts of Parliament against Dissenters known collectively as the Clarendon Code (1661-65). It was as a result of these Acts that John Bunyan had been imprisoned for more than twelve years in Bedford gaol.
- p. 94. *the Head and Fellows of Magdalen College (Oxford)*. They were ejected for refusing to elect a Roman Catholic President on James II's orders.
- p. 95. *the Remission of their first Fruits*. As Queen Anne's Bounty in February 1704. Swift was seeking a similar concession for the clergy in Ireland. First-fruits were a tax paid to the Crown in the form of the first year's income of a benefice.
- p. 95. *Books against those Doctrines in Religion, etc.* See notes to p. 116.
- p. 97. *Plato lays it down as a Maxim, etc.* The references are to the *Laws*, x. 909, and the *Apology*, 24 and 26.
- p. 97. *the poor Hugonots of France, etc.* In the French wars of religion in the latter half of the sixteenth century.
- p. 97. *Lord Clarendon's Hist.* Edward Hyde (1609-74), Earl of Clarendon, one of the chief supporters and advisers of Charles I and Charles II, wrote his great history of the events in which he himself had been so prominent as *The True Historical Narrative of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (1702-4). Swift was a careful student of this book, reading it through four times during his life and profusely annotating his copy.



- p. 97. *a turbulent Party joining with the Arminians*. The Arminians were the adherents of James Arminius or Harmensen (d. 1609), a Protestant theologian in Holland, whose opinions differed importantly from those of Calvin. They were supported by the Remonstrants, who were opposed to control of the Church by the States.
- p. 98. *Empiricks, Pettifoggers*. Quacks in medicine and law.
- p. 98. *Mr Lesly*. Charles Leslie (1650–1722), a High Churchman and Nonjuror who in many pamphlets attacked the Whig divines, Quakers, deists, and Jews, and defended the sacraments. In addition he conducted a paper, *The Rehearsal* (1704–9), against the Whig writers. In 1703 he had attacked Swift's *Contests and Dissensions*.
- p. 100. *High and Low*. Cf. the satire in *Gulliver's Travels* on the two parties of High Heels and Low Heels in Lilliput.
- p. 100. *in the Schools*. In academic doctrine and discussion.
- p. 100. *no long Security*. "no longer Security," 1711.
- p. 100. *the Aristocracy of Venice*. From the fourteenth century the government of Venice, a republic, was in the hands of an assembly of hereditary noblemen who chose the magistrates exclusively from their own ranks. Effective power was concentrated in a Council of Ten.
- p. 100. *the United Republicks of the States General*. See note to p. 92.
- p. 101. *Aristotle, and his Followers*. See Aristotle's *Politics*, iii. 7. His writings were the basis of University studies throughout the Middle Ages, and even down to Swift's own day.
- p. 101. *Hobbes*. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). In the *Leviathan* (1651) he argued that to achieve peaceful government men must make a contract "to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon an assembly of men." For his analogy between reasoning and casting up accounts, see *Leviathan*, v.
- p. 101. *Filmer*. Sir Robert Filmer (d. 1653), a rival expert on the theory of sovereignty, wrote in his *Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings Asserted* (1680), "we do but flatter ourselves if we hope ever to be governed without an arbitrary power." He contended for patriarchal power consecrated in the Stuart kings by the Church.
- p. 102. *disputed in publick Schools*. See note to p. 100. A formal academic disputation conducted in public.
- p. 103. *a weak Prince*. James II.

- p. 103. *some small ones on the Western Coasts, established by the Greeks.* Early in their history some of the Greek peoples migrated across the Ægean and founded cities and states along the west coast of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands. They were prosperous and independent, even when included in the Persian Empire.
- p. 104. *a Remark of Hobbes. Leviathan, xxix.*
- p. 104. *some late Amendments.* Possibly the reconstitution of Godolphin's Ministry in 1704-5 on a Moderate Tory basis.
- p. 105. *that Distinction between a King de facto, and one de jure.* Whereas the Nonjurors had refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III, less extreme Tories had compromised by accepting William as *de facto* monarch, with the mental reservation that James will still king *de jure*.
- p. 106. *the young Pretender in France.* See note to p. 87. In later history usually known as the Old Pretender to distinguish him from his son, Prince Charles Edward. In 1708 he was only twenty. At the time of the Revolution an unwarranted rumour was put about that the heir so opportunely born to secure the Roman Catholic succession was in fact an unknown infant conveyed into the palace in a warming-pan. Swift considered this tale mere "coffee-house chat."
- p. 107. *his Father.* Charles I, executed in 1649.
- p. 107. *a few biggotted French Scribblers.* Louis XIV, at war with England, upheld the Jacobite cause, and French writers provided some of the propaganda for it.
- p. 107. *Gentleman of the Non-juring Party.* "Mr. Nelson, Author of the Feasts and Fasts, etc." Footnote in F. Robert Nelson (1656-1715), author of *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England* (1704), a most popular manual of Anglican theology. He was an active supporter of Church charities.
- p. 108. *an Assembly of the Nobles and People.* The Convention Parliament, summoned by William of Orange when he arrived in London. It met on January 22, 1689.
- p. 108. *a Nephew.* William III was the son of James II's sister Mary and her husband, William II of Orange. The three children of James II were Mary and Anne, daughters by his first wife, Anne Hyde, and James, his son by the Roman Catholic Mary of Modena. Mary succeeded jointly with her husband, William, Prince of Orange.
- p. 108. *their Right of Succession by Act of Parliament.* The succession to the Crown had been repeatedly altered by legislative enactment.



The Act operative prior to 1689 was the third Succession Act (1544) of the reign of Henry VIII.

p. 109. *Nero or Caligula*. Two Roman emperors (A.D. 54-68 and 37-41) notorious for their cruelty and profligate lives. Several of the crimes here posited are attributed to one or other of them.

p. 109. *no Tie [but] Conscience*. F. has "of" in place of "but."

p. 109. *Peter the Cruel* (1333-69), King of Castile and Léon.

p. 109. *Philip the Second of Spain* (1527-98) married Queen Mary of England (1554). Determined to crush all opposition to Roman Catholicism, he developed the Inquisition but failed to suppress revolt in the Netherlands (1567-79) and to invade England (1588).

p. 109. *John Basilovits of Muscovy*. Ivan IV Vasilievich (1530-84), Grand Duke of Moscow and first to call himself Czar of Russia. Known as Ivan the Terrible because of his brutality.

p. 110. *Institution*. The setting up of a Constitution.

p. 110. *the Expulsion of Tarquin*. The Roman tyrant Tarquinius Superbus was expelled in 510 B.C. after a struggle with the patrician families. The monarchy was replaced by an aristocratic republic headed by a senate and two patrician magistrates (consuls), elected annually.

### An Argument against Abolishing Christianity

Apparently first printed in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1711). Reprinted from Faulkner, i. 91-109. See Introduction, pp. 25-26; and *cf.* pp. 172-173.

p. 113. *severe Penalties*. "several Penalties" 1711. For the Act of Union with Scotland see notes to p. 127. Many of those opposed to the Union were rightly suspected of being Jacobites.

p. 113. *this Majority of Opinion*. *Cf.* the satirical proposal for "A Modest Defence of the Proceedings of the Rabble in all Ages" in the Preface to *A Tale of a Tub*.

p. 114. *the Writers on the other Side*. The free-thinkers.

p. 114. *the Proposal of Horace*. *Epode* xvi.

p. 114. *Undertakers*. Those who promote business enterprises.

p. 115. *the good Intentions of the Legislature*. See notes to pp. 87, 91, on the disputes over the Bill against Occasional Conformity.

p. 115. *Persecution*. A favourite accusation made against the Church, with the events of seventeenth-century history in mind, by Dissenters as well as free-thinkers.

p. 115. *the Saying of Tiberius*. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 73, where it reads,

- “deorum injurias dis curæ” (“insults to the gods are the concern of the gods”), the reply of the Emperor Tiberius when a person was accused before him of having sworn a false oath.
- p. 116. *the Allies*. England’s allies (cf. *The Conduct of the Allies*) were Holland, Austria, most of the German states, Savoy, and Portugal.
- p. 116. *the Trumpery lately written*. Swift seems to drop his ironical manner for a moment, perhaps from a distrust of being taken literally (as *A Tale of a Tub* had been) if he used a complimentary word in sarcasm.
- p. 116. *Asgill*. John Asgil (1659–1738). An Irishman, lawyer, and eccentric, he published in 1699 a pamphlet to prove that men might be translated to eternal life without passing through death. It later caused his expulsion from both the Irish and English Parliaments.
- p. 116. *Tindall*. Matthew Tindal (1657–1733). He became a Roman Catholic under James II and rejoined the Church of England later. His book *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted* (1706) contained an attack on the clergy.
- p. 116. *Toland*. James Junius Toland (1670–1722) initiated the deist controversy with his *Christianity not Mysteriorious* (1696) and was denounced as a Socinian.
- p. 116. *Coward*. William Coward (1657–1725), a physician, who wrote several deist pamphlets, including *Second Thoughts concerning the Human Soul* (1702), in which he asserted the soul’s mortality.
- p. 116. *an old dormant Statute or two*. The Corporation and Test Acts. See note to p. 87.
- p. 116. *Empson and Dudley*. Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, the hated agents of Henry VII, who were denounced as “horse-leeches and skin-shearers” for their astuteness in reviving and manipulating obsolete statutes and prerogatives to swell with fines the revenues of their master, and themselves.
- p. 117. *Rent*. Revenue, income.
- p. 117. *the wise Regulations of Henry the Eighth*. For plundering the property of the Church. Besides dissolving the monasteries they transferred the payment of first-fruits on new benefices to the Crown (1532).
- p. 118. *Theatres*. “Play-houses,” 1711.
- p. 118. *common Dormitories*. Lodging-houses.
- p. 118. *a hard Word*. Cf. p. 157.



- p. 118. *the Chocolate-House*. Less numerous than the coffee-houses, the chocolate-houses, such as White's, the Cocoa-House, and Ozinda's, were notorious for gambling.
- p. 118. *grievous Clogs*. "mutual Clogs" 1711.
- p. 118. *dispose Men*. "are apt" 1711.
- p. 119. *Nomenclators*. Those who invent or assign names, especially those Roman slaves whose function it was to prompt their masters with the names of clients and voters.
- p. 119. *Heydukes*. Hajduks, in Hungary the name of a special body of foot-soldiers, and in Poland applied to the personal attendants of the noblemen. It meant originally "robbers, brigands."
- p. 119. *Mamalukes*. The military men, originally Circassian slaves, who seized power in 1254 and became the ruling class in Egypt.
- p. 119. *Mandarins*. Chinese officials.
- p. 119. *Potshaws*. "Patshaws," 1711. The Persian *Padshah* means 'emperor, Sultan.' Swift has confused it with *Pashas*, the title of Turkish officers of high rank.
- p. 119. *the Monument*. The inscription on Wren's memorial of the Great Fire of 1666 had caused much controversy by attributing the fire to the Papists.
- p. 119. *Margarita, Mrs. Tofts, Valentini*. "Italian Singers then in Vogue." Footnote in F. Francesca Margherita de l'Epine is thought to have been the first Italian to sing in opera in England. Her rivalry with Mrs Catherine Tofts, the English singer, divided the town into an English and an Italian party. At this time the opera was a serious rival to drama on the London stage.
- p. 119. *Trimmers*. The name had been applied to those who took a middle course between the policy of Charles II and that of the Exclusionists, who opposed the succession of the Roman Catholic James, Duke of York. See Lord Halifax's *Character of a Trimmer* (1682). Presumably used here for the Moderate Tories.
- p. 119. *the Prasini and Veneti*. The "Greens" and "Blues" were the chief opponents in the Roman chariot races. Their rivalry led to civil war in Constantinople under Justinian. Blue is the colour of the English Order of the Garter, green of the Scottish Order of the Thistle. Cf. *Gulliver's Travels*, I. iii, where the Emperor bestows upon his favourites silken threads of blue, red, and green.
- p. 119. *Terms of Art*. Technical terms, jargon.
- p. 120. *a predominant Passion*. The philosopher John Locke (1632-

- 1704) had given fresh currency to the theory of innate "inclinations of the appetite." See K. MacLean, *John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (1936).
- p. 120. *to cultivate this Taste*. "Test," 1711.
- p. 120. *prohibited Silks . . . prohibited Wine*. Such imports had been affected by the war with France. Evidently much smuggling went on.
- p. 120. *the Spleen*. See note to p. 54.
- p. 120. *the Deep-Thinkers of the Age*. Notably Locke, whose analysis of human understanding and views on education had been manufactured into explosive matter by the free-thinkers. Locke denied the possibility of innate ideas, attributing such notions as Swift here names to the effect of education. With the reference to "an ill-favoured Nose" cf. the concern about Tristram Shandy's nose in the novel (1760-67) by Sterne, who makes elaborate play with Locke's theories.
- p. 121. *String of those Weeds*. Fine root or tendril of a plant.
- p. 121. *those, who hold Religion to have been the Invention of Politicians*, etc. Another theme of the free-thinkers. See Hobbes's *Leviathan*, xii, and cf. Preface to *A Tale of a Tub* ("This is the *Leviathan* from whence the terrible Wits of our Age are said to borrow their Weapons"), and *Examiner*, no. 29.
- p. 121. *enlarging the Terms of Communion*. See note to p. 91.
- p. 122. *these Humors*. Cf. the eccentricities of the Calvinist Jack in *A Tale of a Tub*, sect. xi.
- p. 122. *Enthusiasm*. Belief in personal revelation from God; deprecatingly applied to the emotional excesses which it generated among some of the dissenting sects. Cf. the "Digression . . . of Madness in a Commonwealth," *A Tale of a Tub*, sect. ix.
- p. 122. *flinging Men a few Ceremonies to devour*. Cf. the explanation of the title in the Preface to *A Tale of a Tub*.
- p. 123. *Projectors*. The term had a strong suggestion of fraudulent practice.
- p. 123. *Asgill for a Wit*. See note to p. 116. Coleridge, at any rate, considered that "his irony was often finer than Swift's." (*Table Talk*, April 30, 1832).
- p. 124. *It is the wise Choice of the Subject*, etc. Cf. The Conclusion to *A Tale of a Tub*.
- p. 124. *another Securing Vote*. Preparatory to the Act of Settlement, the House of Commons had passed a resolution on March 3, 1701 "for the preserving the peace and happiness of this King-



dom, and the security of the Protestant Religion, by law established.”

p. 124. *Socinians*. Those who followed the two sixteenth-century Italian theologians named Socinus in denying the divinity of Christ and the supernatural quality of the sacraments.

p. 124. *repealing the Sacramental Test*. See note to p. 91.

p. 124. *the Jus Divinum of Episcopacy*. See note to p. 89.

p. 124. *setting up Presbytery*. As in the national Church of Scotland.

p. 125. *the Rights of the Christian Church*. See note to p. 116.

p. 126. *a sudden Deduction of a long Sorites*. Terms in logic, which imply here no more than jumping to a conclusion.

p. 126. *engaged in War with the Persian Emperor*. Turkey was intermittently engaged in war with Persia during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

p. 126. *Bank and East India Stock*. The Bank of England, founded along with the National Debt in 1695 to raise money for William III's wars, and the Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, were both predominantly Whig concerns. Between 1710 and 1713, while the Tories were in power, the Bank stock fluctuated most sensitively.

### Verses on the Union

First printed by Faulkner (viii. 314) in 1746. The verses were probably written in 1707, the year of the Act of Union between England and Scotland. The union of the two Parliaments effected by Cromwell had been ended at the Restoration. Since then the enmity between the two countries had increased, and the Union of 1707 was negotiated as a means of avoiding open hostilities at a time when England was involved in a Continental war.

Swift's unrelaxing hatred of the Scots cannot be explained solely by his distrust of all dissenting sects. "What can one expect from a Scot and a fanatick?" he wrote in contempt on one occasion (*Journal to Stella*, July 9, 1711). Perhaps it had been implanted by his personal contact with the Scottish settlers in the north of Ireland and his recognition of the determination with which they were driving the English and the Anglican religion out of that region. See his *Letter concerning the Sacramental Test* (1709). It seemed likely that the Sacramental Test for public office in England would be increasingly difficult to maintain after this Union. At this very time Swift was troubled by the indications that the Whigs wanted to free the Irish Presbyterians from such disabilities. The Union

thus appeared as indirectly endangering William III's settlement of Ireland. In his hostility to the Union Swift was therefore, for the very opposite of Jacobite motives, speaking with the tones of the High Tories themselves. It marks his first clear divergence from the line of Whig policy. See further *The Public Spirit of the Whigs* (1714) and G. M. Trevelyan, *Select Documents for Queen Anne's Reign* (1929).

- p. 127. *The Queen*, etc. In her first speech to Parliament (1702) Anne gave offence to those who cherished the memory of William III, a Dutchman, by pointedly declaring, "that she knew her heart to be entirely English." The words "entirely English" were engraved on her coronation medal. The "loss" may refer to her surrender of tenths and first-fruits to the English clergy (1704) or to the gift of the royal manor of Woodstock to Marlborough (1705).
- p. 127. *Frize*. A coarse woollen cloth with a nap on it.
- p. 127. *without Faith or Law*. The Act declared that the Presbyterian Church "shall remain and continue unalterable" as the established Church of Scotland. Each country was also to retain its own system of law.
- p. 127. *A Vessel with a double Keel*. Comparing a kingdom to a ship was a commonplace of political philosophers. Swift gives a novel turn to it by his elaborate but apt comparison with the double-keeled ship invented by Sir William Petty in 1662. The new ship occasioned much controversy, until it was lost during a storm in the Irish Sea, with several distinguished persons on board.
- p. 127. *just like ours*. Sir Harold Williams (*The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, i. 96) takes this to be a reference to the new order in Ireland since the victory of William III. But Swift is simply extending the comparison between such a vessel and "our Commonweal," viz. the whole United Kingdom.

### The Examiner No. 14

Reprinted from Faulkner, v. 82-88 (1738). Swift wrote nos. 14-45 of the original *Examiners*, November 2, 1710-June 7, 1711, of which this was no. 15. The numbering was altered in the collected editions as the result of suppressing no. 13, written by Atterbury on the dangerous theme of non-resistance.

For the part the *Examiner* played in establishing the Tories in



power see Introduction, pp. 30–32, and consult further *Prose Writings*, ed. H. Davis, vol. iii; Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, vol. iii. See also Swift's *Journal to Stella* and *Memoirs, relating to that Change which happened in the Queen's Ministry in the Year 1710*.

This *Examiner* is largely an attack on the Earl of Wharton. A man of great abilities, though a notorious profligate, Thomas Wharton (1648–1715) was one of the most influential Whig leaders. Created Earl of Wharton in 1706, he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1708 and sought to repeal the Test Act there. Swift was well acquainted with him and came to loathe him, directing his most searing invective against him. See *Examiner*, nos. 18 (17) and 23 (22), and *A Short Character of His Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton* (1710). In the *Memoirs*, Swift wrote of Wharton's rule in Ireland, "he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party."

p. 128. *E quibus hi vacuas implent Sermonibus aures*, etc. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xii. 56–61, rendered by Dryden:

The troubled air with empty sounds they beat,  
Intent to hear, and eager to repeat.  
Error sits brooding there, with added train  
Of vain Credulity, and Joys as vain:  
Suspicion, with Sedition joined, are near,  
And Rumours raised, and Murmurs mixed, and panic Fear.

p. 128. *the Art of Political Lying*. Arbuthnot published a political piece with this title in 1712 and may have had some help from Swift.

p. 128. *seducing a third Part of the Subjects from their Obedience*. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, v. 709–710. The Dissenters are implied by Swift, especially the Irish Presbyterians.

p. 128. *as Milton expresseth it*. *Paradise Lost*, v. 688–689, 725–726. Traditionally Satan was supposed to have ruled over the northern part of heaven. By moving his domain to the west, Swift offers a parallel with Wharton's rule in Ireland.

p. 128. *other fallen Spirits, or poor deluded Men*. The fallen Whig Ministers and their supporters.

p. 128. *these twenty Years past*. Cf. p. 132. The Whigs had first come fully into power under William III in 1696.

p. 129. *The Poets tell us*. Virgil, *Æneid*, iv. 173–178. Fame or

Rumour was a monster brought forth by Earth, and a sister of the giants who rebelled against the gods.

p. 129. *Rabble*. The earliest editions read "Mob", one of the slang words which Swift thought particularly objectionable.

p. 129. *the Spawn of a Stock-jobber*. Cf. note to p. 126.

p. 130. *make a Saint of an Atheist, and a Patriot of a Profligate*. Wharton.

p. 130. *Flower-de-Luce's and Triple Crowns*, etc. Emblems of France and Roman Catholicism, towards both of which the Tories were accused of being favourable because of their Jacobite taint. The *Wooden Shoes* were the *sabots* of the French peasants.

p. 130. *Indulgence*. The Whig attitude to Dissenters, recalling the Declarations of Indulgence by Charles II (1673) and James II (1687 and 1688).

p. 130. *like those of a flying Fish*. See note to p. 59.

p. 130. *the Art of the Second Sight*, etc. A superstition of the Scottish Highlands about which Dr Johnson later made eager inquiries on his tour of Scotland. See *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785).

p. 130. *Exchange-Alley*. "Popes-head Alley," 1710. See note to p. 61.

p. 130. *a Club of discontented Grandees*. A clique of Whig lords. Possibly a direct allusion to the Whig Kit-Cat Club.

p. 130. *Faculty*. Profession.

p. 131. *a certain Great Man*. "The late Earl of Wharton." Footnote in F.

p. 131. *the Oaths wherewith he perpetually Tags both ends of every Proposition*. An example is given in *The Short Character*.

p. 131. *he believes in neither*. For an account of his filthy desecration of a church, see *Examiner* 23 (22).

p. 132. *Truth will at last prevail*. Cf. I Esdras, iv. 38, 41.

p. 132. *Representations*. "Misrepresentations," 1710. Statements designed to influence opinion.

p. 132. *those, who by their Birth*, etc. The Whigs were largely recruited from the new moneyed classes, whom Swift always resented as *parvenus* threatening the established order in Church and State, and infringing the predominantly landed interests of the Tories.

p. 132. *others, who . . . were only able to give Reputation and Success to the Revolution*. See note to p. 128. The most eminent of the Tory Ministers dismissed by William III was the Duke of Leeds (1631–



1712) who, as Earl of Danby, had been one of the chief promoters of the Revolution.

p. 132. *Truth, who is said to lie in a Well.* A proverbial expression found as early as Diogenes Laertius (c. A.D. 250).

p. 132. *Landed-Men.* The landowners were predominantly Tory.

p. 132. *powerful Motives from the City.* Bribes of money. Wharton is said to have spent as much as £80,000 in this way.

p. 133. *laying hold on the first Occasion to interpose.* The people were finally roused against the Whigs as a result of their violent impeachment of the High Church Dr Sacheverell in March 1710 for a sermon preached against the Whig leaders in the previous year.

### The Conduct of the Allies

Published on November 27, 1711, the pamphlet ran into five editions in three weeks and two more in the new year, besides three editions in Ireland and one in Scotland. Swift made corrections and additions in the second, third, and fourth editions and then left it to the printer. As Faulkner printed from the 1712 Dublin edition (based on the first London edition), he did not incorporate these corrections, and additions, but made others, mainly in points of style, at least some of which must have been the work of Swift.

The two extracts given here are from Faulkner, v. B2-3, 1-4, 43-49 (1738). In them there are no serious differences between Faulkner and the other editions. See Introduction, pp. 32-33.

p. 133. *admire.* Wonder at.

p. 133. *out of Favour with the Prince and People.* The Whigs. Between April and September 1710 Queen Anne had steadily replaced her Whig ministry under Godolphin by Tories, and in October the Tory party swept the polls.

p. 133. *those foolish Terms.* See note to p. 85. These party names were originally terms of abuse.

p. 134. *the Treaty at Gertruydenburg.* "Treaty" is used in the older sense of "negotiations." These were carried on with France in the spring of 1710. The terms proposed by England were so severe, including the demand that Louis XIV should himself drive his grandson from the Spanish throne, that they justify Swift's allegations that the Whigs were deliberately making acceptance of their peace offers impossible.

- p. 134. *the Confederates*. The allies of England.
- p. 134. *the grossest Impositions*. Chiefly the land tax and the growth of the National Debt at home, and the subsidies to the Allies abroad.
- p. 134. *the Part of the War which was chiefly our Province*. The war at sea, which seemed to offer the opportunity of plundering the French and Spanish colonies, was in fact fought mainly along the Spanish coasts and in the Mediterranean. See Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, i. 259-260. Swift maintained that England had been committed to a wasteful Continental war because Marlborough's talents were for operations on land.
- p. 134. *a Mock Treaty*. Gertruydenburg.
- p. 135. *I am not mistaken in those Facts*. Swift had been supplied with information and his facts checked by St John, the Secretary of State.
- p. 135. *Ten Years Wars*. "War" in other texts. It began in May 1702.
- p. 135. *that impracticable Point*. The surrender of Spain by Philip V.
- p. 135. *The Motives*. In this first section Swift makes an orderly but tendentious analysis of the first principles of war, his purpose being to bring the argument round to a partisan exposition of the contemporary situation. The considerations here implied are specifically stated and expounded in the remainder of the pamphlet.
- p. 135. *pro aris & focis*. "For hearth and home." The Lares and Penates, guardian spirits of the Roman household as well as the state, were worshipped at altars (*aræ*) and the domestic hearth (*focus*).
- p. 136. *Anticipations*. The use of money before it is actually available.
- p. 136. *free Trade*. Open and unrestricted trade. Not the modern meaning.
- p. 136. *the Point originally contended for*. Though speaking in general terms, Swift has in mind the dispute about the Spanish succession.
- p. 136. *which Party has the deepest share in the Quarrel*. The Dutch, in Swift's view.
- p. 137. *But, if an Ally*, etc. A summary statement of England's part in the war.
- p. 137. *intermeddling in his Domestick Affairs*. In its own interest, Holland supported the Whigs, who wished to continue the war, and tried to keep Marlborough in office. See notes to pp. 68, 69, 142.



- p. 138. *But if all this be true.* The second extract opens with a decisive summary of Swift's argument up to this point. He proceeds to a partisan review of English politics from the end of William III's reign. See Introduction, pp. 28-30.
- p. 138. *the Success we have had*, etc. Swift has played down Marlborough's share in it.
- p. 138. *weak and foolish Bargains with our Allies*, etc. The terms of the Grand Alliance (1701), the treaties with Portugal (1703), and the Barrier Treaty with Holland (1709), all of which Swift has examined earlier in the pamphlet.
- p. 138. *the old Duke of Schomberg.* Frederick Schomberg (1615-90), a German soldier of fortune and Protestant refugee who fought for William III and by him was created a duke in 1689. He was killed at the Battle of the Boyne.
- p. 138. *that Part of the War.* The war at sea. See note to p. 134 above.
- p. 138. *Bubbles.* Dupes, gulls.
- p. 138. *it cannot be said.* Other editions read "I" for "it."
- p. 139. *the late King's Time.* Though the war did not begin until May 1702, the failure of the Partition Treaties in 1700 made it inevitable, and William III had prepared for it with the Grand Alliance of 1701.
- p. 139. *a certain Great Man.* "my Lord G[odolphin]." Footnote in F. Sidney Godolphin (1645-1712), first Earl of Godolphin, one of the leaders of the Tory Ministry forced on William III in 1700. He resigned in 1702, for reasons other than Swift gives, and came into office again under Anne. He was an able administrator and readily switched from one party to another. Swift had earlier supported him. For his break with Godolphin in 1710 see *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod* (1710).
- p. 139. *the Family with whom he was engaged.* Godolphin's son had married Marlborough's eldest daughter. As Marlborough's second daughter was married to the Earl of Sunderland, there was an equally close alliance with one of the great Whig families. Wishing to have a reliable colleague at home, Marlborough insisted on Godolphin's appointment as Lord Treasurer in May 1702, the office which he retained until August 1710.
- p. 139. *the Dutchess.* Sarah Jennings (1660-1744) married Marlborough, then John Churchill, in 1678. Before this she had been one of the Princess Anne's attendants and steadily came to dominate her. On her accession Anne bestowed many profitable

- state offices upon her. After 1706 Abigail Hill (Mrs Masham) steadily supplanted her in the Queen's favour and intrigued on behalf of Harley and the Tories.
- p. 139. *commanded by the Duke of Marlborough*. Marlborough had been appointed Captain-General of the British expeditionary force. After some opposition from the Dutch he was also made Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces in 1702.
- p. 139. *other Princes*. Changed after the first edition to "other Powers", as more apposite to Holland, a republican States-General.
- p. 140. *that unmeasureable Love of Wealth*. See *The Fable of Midas*.
- p. 140. *Two and an half per Cent.*, etc. Such a deduction from the subsidies had been allowed by the Allies to William III to provide for his secret service. Anne empowered Marlborough to make the same deduction. He received £280,000 in this way.
- p. 140. *the grand Perquisites*. Commissions paid to Marlborough by Sir Solomon Medina on supplies of bread to the army and amounting to £63,000. After inquiry Parliament in 1712 declared them "unwarrantable and illegal," but never enforced its decree that Marlborough should refund all he had received by way of deductions and perquisites. The practice was a usual one at the time and Marlborough had at least kept his army well supplied.
- p. 140. *other Incidents here at home*, etc. See Introduction, pp. 29-30.
- p. 140. *this Solemn League and Covenant*. The alliance between the Marlborough faction and the Whig Junto. With this label Swift damagingly equates it with the compact by which in 1643 the Parliamentarians brought in the Presbyterian Scots to their aid against the King.
- p. 141. *our Success in Flanders*. Marlborough won the battles of Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709).
- p. 141. *lest their Tables should be overthrown*. Cf. Matthew, xxi. 12, etc.
- p. 141. *When the Vote passed in the House of Lords*. December 1707. But it was not opposed by the Tories, because they hoped that the despatch of troops from the Netherlands to Spain might weaken the position of Marlborough and the Dutch. The Austrian claimant was the Archduke Charles, who became Emperor in 1711.
- p. 141. *the Earl of Wharton*. See note on p. 246 above.
- p. 142. *very advantageous Offers of a Peace*. It is not certain that any offers were made. Disagreements among the Allies would at any



rate have made peace negotiations impossible at that stage. Marlborough's correspondence shows that he feared such offers might be made.

- p. 142. *a Set of Men*. By the pressure of the Whig Junto, Sunderland was made a Secretary of State against the Queen's wishes in December 1706. Marlborough and Godolphin were prompted, not by fear of criticism, but by the need to obtain Whig support in Parliament.
- p. 142. *the Prince of Denmark's Death*. Queen Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark, died in October 1708. His death conveniently made available the office of Lord High Admiral that the Whigs were demanding for the Earl of Pembroke. Prostrate with grief, Anne was unable to oppose the appointment of the Whig lords, Wharton and Somers, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord President of the Council respectively, posts vacated by Pembroke.
- p. 142. *waxed the Fatter*, etc. Deuteronomy, xxxii. 15.
- p. 142. *our two great Allies abroad*, etc. Representations against the dismissal of the Whig Ministers were made to the Queen in 1710 by the Dutch Envoy, the Imperial Minister, and the Bank of England.
- p. 142. *Her Secretary or Treasurer*. Henry Boyle, who had replaced Harley in 1708; and Godolphin.
- p. 142. *betraying the Interest of their Native Country*, etc. A completely unproven charge. Godolphin at any rate had proved one of the best administrators of his time.
- p. 142. *The Prudence . . . of Her Majesty*. In other places Swift records the very opposite qualities in her. On this occasion her defects of character had been craftily exploited by the Tories; it was she who was made their instrument.
- p. 142. *the only Persons*, etc. Notably Harley, the Duke of Shrewsbury, and Mrs Masham.
- p. 143. *Her Majesty was pursued*, etc. Supposedly by the Duchess of Marlborough. With Mrs Masham in her place, the Tories had in fact secured the backstairs.
- p. 143. *an adjoining Cottage*. A house the Queen had purchased from Godolphin just outside Windsor Park. She preferred it to the castle.
- p. 143. *the Advice of Solomon*. Proverbs, xxi. 9, xxv. 24. The quotation as reprinted in F. from the first edition is not strictly accurate. It was corrected in the third edition.

- p. 143. *the old Masters of the Palace in France*. The Mayors of the Palace (*Majores Domus*) were the hereditary royal stewards and political agents of the Merovingian kings. They gradually became the real rulers of France and in the person of Pepin the Short finally supplanted the Merovingian dynasty in 751.
- p. 143. *a General for Life*. Threatened by a worsening political situation, Marlborough sought in May 1709 to have his post as Commander-in-Chief, or "Captain General," secured to him for life. Failing to find any precedents, he nevertheless made his demand to a fluttered and fearful Queen, and was refused. It was a blunder that played right into the hands of the Tories, who could henceforth brand him with treasonable and dictatorial aspirations. Swift privately believed that Marlborough's chief concern at that stage was only to secure his perquisites and pay; at the same time he genuinely feared the ultimate consequences if Marlborough got what he demanded.

### The Fable of Midas

Published, as Swift informs Stella, on February 14, 1712. Reprinted from Faulkner, ii. 93-96. See Introduction, p. 33.

- p. 143. *Midas, we are in Story told*. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 85ff. A king of Phrygia who was granted his wish that everything he touched might turn to gold. The results were unexpectedly distressing.
- p. 144. *Potable Gold*. A cordial medicine prepared from gold.
- p. 144. *Gold-finders*. Nightmen who emptied privies.
- p. 144. *Mambrino's Helm*. A magic helmet acquired by Rinaldo (Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, i. 28). Don Quixote (chapter xxxvi) mistook the brass basin on a barber's head for it.
- p. 144. *On Magazines of Corn, or Hay, etc.* Items figuring in the charges of peculation against Marlborough then being investigated.
- p. 144. *Two Gods, etc.* Midas adjudged Pan superior to Apollo on the flute, whereupon Apollo gave him ass's ears as a mark of his stupidity. So Marlborough, who was considered somewhat of a Philistine, had preferred the money of the Whigs to the supposedly superior culture of the Tories.
- p. 144. *Pactolus Sands*. See note to p. 60.
- p. 145. *Perquisities, etc.* See note to p. 140.
- p. 145. *Phebus*. Apollo, god of poetry and music.



p. 146. *the Senate . . . wash't away the Chymick Power.* In fact Marlborough was deprived of his appointments before the commission of inquiry had reported.

### The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphras'd

Printed from the first edition, January 1714. Though published anonymously, it could have been written by no one but Swift. For the quarrel with Steele, see Introduction, p. 34, and G. A. Aitken's *Life of Steele* (1889). Parallel passages from Horace were printed with the original.

p. 146. *Buckley's Pen.* Samuel Buckley, Steele's publisher.

p. 146. *Burnet.* See note to p. 91.

p. 147. *Sir William Gore was May'r.* In 1702. But 1701 is intended, the year of the Act of Settlement, providing for the succession of the House of Hanover on Anne's death.

p. 147. *Harley fill'd the Commons Chair.* He became Speaker of the House in 1701.

p. 147. *all its secret Causes trace.* Cf. p. 130 for some of the dishonest motives ascribed to the Tories.

p. 147. *Errors of our Plenipoes.* For the negotiations of the plenipotentiaries, see Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, iii. chapter 13.

p. 147. *that dreadful coup d'eclat.* Marlborough had been accused in the *Examiner* for December 18-21, 1713, of seeking to set up a military dictatorship. Steele had protested against the accusation in his paper *The Englishman*, scornfully reiterating the phrase "Coup d'Eclat" used by the *Examiner*.

p. 147. *Twelve Coronets.* The opposition in the Lords to the peace treaty had been overcome by the creation of twelve new Tory peers.

p. 147. *Thou must no longer deal in Farce.* Three of Steele's comedies had been acted (two of them at Drury Lane), *The Funeral* (1701), *The Lying Lover* (1703), and *The Tender Husband* (1705).

p. 147. *Nor pump to cobble wicked Verse.* Patch up with much effort. Reference to *The Occasional Verse of Richard Steele*, ed. Rae Blanchard (1952), confirms Swift's opinion of Steele's slight, unmeritable verse.

p. 148. *This is said to be the Plot of a Comedy.* The only other comedy that Steele completed was *The Conscious Lovers* (1722). The summary does not fit it very closely.

p. 148. *Renown'd for Skill in Faustus Art,* etc. Steele had conducted *The Tatler* (1709-11) in the guise of the astrologer Bickerstaff;

in it he frequently gave advice on the problems submitted by his female readers. *Faustus*, the sixteenth-century necromancer, subject of Marlowe's play.

- p. 148. *at Stockbridge*. The borough for which Steele had been elected M.P. on August 25, 1713. It was expected that a petition would be lodged against him because his resignation as Commissioner of the Stamp Office had not been accepted before he stood for election.
- p. 148. *some sly Petition*. See above. Steele was in fact expelled from the House of Commons on March 18 on a complaint against *The Crisis*.
- p. 148. *Oyster-Strumpet*. A girl who sold oysters in the street, such as Hogarth painted.
- p. 149. *the Hall*. Of Westminster Palace, where Parliament met.
- p. 149. *Tick with Hunter*. Steele was continually in debt.
- p. 149. *the Matchless Hero Abel*. Abel Roper (1665-1726) conducted the leading Tory newspaper *The Post Boy*.
- p. 149. *her Highness and her Spouse*, etc. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough retired to Antwerp after the Duke's dismissal and remained there until the Queen's death.
- p. 149. *Maccartney*. On November 15, 1712, in a notorious duel that excited strong political passions, the Whig Lord Mohun was killed and the Jacobite Duke of Hamilton died soon after. General Maccartney, Mohun's second, was accused of stabbing the Duke and fled to Holland. See the *Journal to Stella*, 15 November, 1712, and *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*. Though Maccartney was "very capable of the vilest actions," he seems on the evidence guiltless of this murder. See Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, iii. 245-247. The "Pious Patron's Ghost" refers to Lord Mohun.
- p. 149. "On Popes, etc. A mocking summary of Steele's political writings.
- p. 150. *some snug Cellar*. A low tavern.
- p. 150. *Tom D'urfey* (1653-1723), a scurrilous but popular writer of songs and farces. *Ambrose Philips* (1675?-1749), friend of Addison and Steele; quarrelled with Pope. *John Dennis* (1657-1734), poetaster and critic, satirized by Pope; see note to p. 183.

### The Author upon Himself

First printed in 1735, by Faulkner (ii. 343-347), and wrongly dated by him 1713. It was composed at Letcombe between June 3



and August 16, 1714. See Introduction, p. 35. A companion piece of self-portrayal of the same date is the *Imitation of Part of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace*. Both pieces can be documented from the *Journal to Stella* and Swift's record of these events in such prose pieces as *Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs* (published 1741).

The numerous footnotes in Faulkner were probably provided by Swift himself.

- p. 150. *an [old redhair'd murd'ring Hag]*. The blanks in the original are filled in from a MS. note by Lord Orrery in a copy of his *Remarks* (1752). The "Hag" was the Duchess of Somerset, a Whig favourite of Queen Anne, whom Swift had attacked scurrilously in *The Windsor Prophecy* (1711), as a result of which, he believed, she turned the Queen against him. The second of her three husbands, Thomas Thynne of Longleat, from whom she had fled before the marriage was consummated, had been murdered by followers of Count Königsmark, one of her suitors.
- p. 150. *A crazy Prelate*. "Dr. Sharpe, Archbishop of York." Footnote in F. On the evidence supplied by *A Tale of a Tub* he considered Swift unfit for a bishopric.
- p. 150. *a Royal Prude*. "Her late M[ajest]y." Footnote in F. Queen Anne.
- p. 151. *Child's or Truby's*. "A Coffee-house and Tavern near St. Paul's, much frequented by the Clergy." Footnote in F. Actually in the churchyard.
- p. 151. *By Harley Swift invited comes to Court*. See *Part of the Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated*, and *Journal to Stella*.
- p. 151. *St. John*. "The Secretary of State, now Lord Bolingbroke, the most universal Genius in *Europe*." Footnote in F.
- p. 151. *Finch*. "Late Earl of Nottingham, who made a Speech in the House of Lords against the Author." Footnote in F. The Tory Earl of Nottingham (1647-1730) supported the Whigs against the peace treaty and was satirized by Swift as the 'dismal orator.'
- p. 152. *Walpole*. Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745) was at this date leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.
- p. 152. *Ayslaby*. M.P. for Ripon. "Those two made Speeches in the House of Commons against the Author, although the latter professed much Friendship for him." Footnote in F.
- p. 152. *Perkin must come over*. The Old Pretender. Perkin Warbeck

- (1474-99) was an impostor who had claimed the throne as Richard IV.
- p. 152. *York is from Lambeth sent*. By the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison (1636-1715).
- p. 152. *A dang'rous Treatise*. This was *A Tale of a Tub*.
- p. 152. *He sues for Pardon*. "It is known that his Grace sent a Message to the Author, to desire his Pardon, and that he was very sorry for what he had said and done." Footnote in F. Archbishop Sharp died in 1714 before the verses were written.
- p. 152. *Madam Coningsmark; murder'd Spouse*. Supplied by Orrery. See note to p. 150 above.
- p. 152. *the vengeful Scot*, etc. "The Proclamation was against the Author of a Pamphlet, called, *The publick Spirit of the Whigs*, against which the *Scotch* Lords complained." Footnote in F. The pamphlet was Swift's reply to Steele's *The Crisis*. Because of its comments on the Scottish nobles, Swift's pamphlet was declared "a false, malicious, and factious Libel"; the publisher and printer were arrested, and £300 offered for the discovery of the author. Oxford protected him.
- p. 152. *Delawere*. Footnote in F.:

Lord *Delawere*, then Treasurer of the Houshold, always caressing the Author at Court. But during the Tryal of the Printers before the House of Lords, and while the Proclamation hung over the Author, his Lordship would not seem to know him, till the danger was past.

John West (1687-1723), sixth Baron De La Warr.

- p. 152. *The Scottish Nation*, etc. "The *Scotch* Lords treated and visited the Author more after the Proclamation than before, except the D[uke] of Ar[gyle], who would never be reconciled." Footnote in F.
- p. 153. *His great contending Friends*. Swift had failed in his attempt to reconcile Oxford and Bolingbroke, and now with the fall of the Tories imminent was about to return to Dublin.
- p. 153. *decently retire*. "The Author retired to a Friend in *Berkshire*, ten Weeks before the Qu[een] died; and never saw the Ministry after." Footnote in F. The friend was the Rev. George Gere, rector of Letcombe.

### A Satirical Elegy on the Death of a late Famous General

These verses on the death of the Duke of Marlborough (June 16, 1722) were not published during Swift's lifetime. They are here



reprinted from vol. viii, 4to., of *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Deane Swift (1765). See Introduction, pp. 33-34.

p. 153. *Threescore, I think, is pretty high.* Marlborough, born in 1650, was "threescore and twelve."

### A Letter to a Young Gentleman

First printed anonymously in Dublin in 1720 as *A Letter from a Lay-Patron to a Gentleman Designing for Holy Orders*. Reprinted from Faulkner, i. 208-234, for which Swift had revised the earlier pamphlet. For its relation to his own methods as a preacher see H. Davis, "The MS. of Swift's Sermon on Brotherly Love," in *Pope and his Contemporaries*, ed. J. L. Clifford and L. A. Landa (1949). For his views on style cf. *Tatler*, no. 230, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), and *A Compleat Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation* (1738). See Introduction, pp. 15, 26, 36-37.

p. 156. *a Readership*. A position below that of preacher, common in the Irish Church. *Assistants* were helpers or substitutes for the regular incumbents.

p. 156. *thirty or forty Pounds a Year*. The village preacher of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* (1770) considered himself "passing rich with forty pounds a year."

p. 156. *Colonies from England*. It was part of Swift's objection to the Whig exploitation of Ireland that English nominees were preferred to the native Anglo-Irish.

p. 156. *your Quarentine*. A period of probation.

p. 156. *this Town*. Dublin.

p. 156. *some intimate and judicious Friend*, etc. Swift performed just such a service for preachers at St Patrick's. (Delany, *Observations*, p. 206.)

p. 157. *this Kingdom*. Ireland.

p. 157. *the frequent Use of obscure Terms*. Swift constantly objected to jargon of all kinds. See his other pieces listed above.

p. 158. *the famous Lord Falkland*. Lucius Cary (1610?-43), second Viscount Falkland, an eminent Royalist and a man of liberal accomplishments. He was admired as "a keen reasoner and an able speaker."

p. 158. *he used to consult one of his Lady's Chambermaids*. Similarly Swift used to test the intelligibility of his writings by having them read out to his serving-men. See Faulkner's Preface (1762).

p. 158. *Terms of Art*. See note to p. 119.

- p. 159. *Dr. Tillotson*. John Tillotson (1630-94), the latitudinarian Archbishop of Canterbury. His eminently lucid sermons were admired by Dryden.
- p. 160. *The Fear of being thought Pedants*, etc. This foible of young graduates is noted in Swift's other writings on style listed above. Cf. also *Spectator*, no. 105.
- p. 160. *a gaming Ordinary*. A tavern providing meals at fixed prices and frequented by gamblers.
- p. 160. *White Friars*. The district in London near Fleet Street where there had formerly been a Carmelite convent, and commonly known as Alsatia. As an asylum for thieves it was notorious in Swift's day for its low life.
- p. 160. *Palming, Shuffling, Biting, Bamboozling*. Slang terms. *Biting*, cozening, 'taking in' the unwary.
- p. 160. *fustian*. Bombast, rant.
- p. 161. *The two great Orators of Greece and Rome*. Demosthenes (383-322 B.C.) and Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.). Both applied their oratory to the service of their country, Demosthenes to rouse the Athenians against the aggressive policy of Philip of Macedon, Cicero, for whom Demosthenes served as a model, to frustrate the anarchic conspiracy of Catiline and later to defend Roman liberty against Mark Antony. In England Cicero had been the more admired and his writings had markedly influenced the elaborate prose style of the seventeenth century.
- p. 161. *sincere*. "fiercer," 1720.
- p. 161. *pathetick*. Appealing to the emotions.
- p. 162. *a Note of Admiration*. An exclamation mark.
- p. 162. *Epiphonemas*. Sententious exclamatory sentences.
- p. 162. *in the Isles*. I.e., Aisles.
- p. 163. *probably admit*. "properly admit;" 1720.
- p. 163. *Reason, and good Advice*. Cf. Horace, *Satires*, I. iv. 132.
- p. 163. *that Passion should never prevail over Reason*. Cf. Introduction, p. 15, and *A Tale of a Tub*, sect. ix.
- p. 164. *my frequent hearing of Foreigners*. Probably the Huguenots at the twenty and more French churches in London.
- p. 164. *I knew a Clergyman of some Distinction*, etc. An exact account of Swift's own method in preparing and delivering his sermons.
- p. 165. *a Repetition-Day*. When schoolboys repeated set lessons to their master.
- p. 166. *they were ignorant of certain Facts*, etc. Cf. the charge of the Moderns against Homer in *A Tale of a Tub*, sect. v.



- p. 166. *that divine Precept . . . insisted on by Plato*. In the *Crito*, where Plato represents Socrates as arguing that we should never retaliate on one who has injured us.
- p. 168. *Admiration*. Ignorant wonder.
- p. 169. *St. Austin*. St Augustine (345–430), Bishop of Hippo. The most famous of his many theological works is the *De Civitate Dei*, in vindication of the Christian Church. His early life and conversion are described in his *Confessions*. The practice of quoting him, established in the Middle Ages, was continued by Protestants, Luther and Calvin deriving much of their doctrine from his writings.
- p. 170. *the Will and the Intellect; simple or complex Ideas; Matter and Motion*. Leading speculations in the philosophy of the time. Locke propounded a distinction between simple and complex ideas. The work of Descartes and the growth of natural philosophy gave a new interest to the study of matter and motion. For Swift's attitude see Introduction, p. 16.
- p. 170. *the Advice of St. Paul*. I Corinthians, ii.
- p. 171. *the Canons, or Articles*. The ecclesiastical decrees and the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England.
- p. 171. *Atheism, Deism, Free-Thinking*. See notes to pp. 87, 116.
- p. 172. *University Education*. See note to p. 93, and cf. Swift's poem, *The Grand Question Debated* (1729).
- p. 173. *to fight with Beasts*. I. Corinthians, xv. 32.
- p. 173. *Factions among us for Thirty Years past*. Since the Revolution. See note to p. 128.
- p. 173. *the old fundamental Custom of annual Parliaments*. Cf. Swift's letter to Pope, January 10, 1722:

As to Parliaments, I adored the wisdom of that Gothic Institution, which made them Annual: and I was confident our Liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation until that ancient law were restored among us.

The Septennial Act (1716), replacing the Triennial Act (1694), allowed each parliament to sit for seven years. This and the following charges are directed against Walpole's administration. Up till the time of the Civil War the difficulty had been, not to limit the life of a Parliament, but to ensure that a Parliament was summoned annually.

- p. 174. *Mr. Hobbes's Saying upon Reason*. In the dedication of his treatise on *Human Nature* (1650).

p. 175. *many of the Clergy were never more learned.* "N.B. This Discourse was written Fourteen Years ago; since which Time, the Case is extremely altered by Deaths and Successions." Footnote in F.

p. 175. *the three Professions.* The Church, law, and medicine.

### On Poetry, A Rapsody

Written 1732-33 and published 1733. Reprinted from Faulkner, ii. 433-456. Passages originally omitted from print for political reasons were supplied by Lord Orrery and Sir Walter Scott. They are reprinted in the notes below from Sir Harold Williams's edition of the poems by permission of the editor and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

The *Rapsody* is a combined literary and political satire, with ironic advice to sycophantic poetasters and mocking panegyrics on George II and Walpole. During his visit to England in 1727 Swift had discussed literary schemes with Pope and the poem is related to Pope's *Dunciad* (1728) and *Epistle to Augustus* (1737), the precedents of Virgil and Horace being clear. Cf. Swift's *Directions for a Birth-day Song Oct: 30. 1729.* Swift thought the *Rapsody* his best satire and it has always been admired as one of his most sustained efforts in poetry.

Walpole was so exasperated by the double offence of this poem and *An Epistle to a Lady* (1733) that, Swift's authorship being betrayed, he determined upon his arrest and only desisted when firmly advised that an army of 10,000 would be necessary to arrest Swift in Ireland.

p. 175. *Young's universal Passion, Pride.* Edward Young (1683-1765), best known as the author of *Night Thoughts* (1742-45), had published seven satires on the love of fame (not pride) as *The Universal Passion* (1725-28). Though a friend of Pope and an opponent of the free-thinkers, he had forfeited Swift's approval by accepting a pension from Walpole in 1725 and addressing the seventh satire to him in terms of fulsome praise. Cf. Swift's *On Reading Dr. Young's Satires* (1726).

p. 176. *Empire to the Rising-Sun.* Horace, *Odes*, IV. xv. 14-16.

p. 176. *Bulk.* Projecting framework or stall outside a shop.

p. 176. *Bridewell.* A house of correction for harlots and vagrants, between Fleet Street and the Thames.

p. 177. *Phæbus.* See note to p. 145.

p. 177. *Just one annual Hundred Pound.* "Paid to the Poet Laureat,



- which Place was given to one *Cibber*, a Player." Footnote in 1733 and F. Colley Cibber (1671-1757), a competent playwright and actor, made poet laureate in 1730. Good poets, says Swift, are henceforth banished forever from the office. In 1743 Pope substituted him for Theobald as hero of *The Dunciad*.
- p. 177. *Grubstreet*. A street in Moorfields inhabited by the poorest, most degraded hack-writers. A synonym for authorship at its basest.
- p. 178. *How shall a new Attempter learn*, etc. Cf. Horace's advice in *Ars Poetica*.
- p. 178. *Aurora*. Goddess of the dawn.
- p. 178. *Breaks—and Dashes—*. In place of personal names. The device was used for safety by Swift's printer in this very piece.
- p. 179. *smoaks*. Smells, suspects, "twigs."
- p. 179. *In Homer, more than Homer knew*. Cf. *A Tale of a Tub*, sect. v.
- p. 179. *Lintot*. Barnaby Bernard Lintot (1675-1736), one of the foremost London booksellers. He published for Pope until they quarrelled. See *Dunciad*, ii. 53 *et seq.*
- p. 179. *Will's*. "The Poet's Coffee-House." Footnote in F. It was situated at the corner of Russell and Bow Streets and the original proprietor was Will Unwin. Dryden's preference made it famous among wits and writers, including Wycherley, Addison, Pope, Congreve, etc. See *Tatler*, no. 1, and R. J. Allen, *Clubs of Augustan London* (1933).
- p. 180. *Cant*. Stock phrases.
- p. 180. *A Statesman, or a South-Sea Jobber*. Cf. *Upon the South-Sea Project*. The Whigs had been deeply involved in the corruptions that swelled the South Sea Bubble. Walpole had not been politically implicated—though he had privately done very well out of his stock-jobbing—and made his reputation by the way he restored the country's finances.
- p. 180. *A Prelate who no God believes*. Cf. *On the Irish Bishops*, written the previous year.
- p. 181. *A Parliament, or Den of Thieves*. Cf. Matthew, xxi. 13, and Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728). According to Orrery this line was originally followed by:

A House of Peers, or Gaming Crew,  
A griping Monarch, or a Jew.

- p. 181. *In Streets where Kennels are too wide*. See note to p. 53.

p. 181. *The vilest Verse thrives best at Court*. Followed originally, according to Scott, by:

And may you ever have the luck  
To rhyme almost as ill as Duck;  
And, though you never learn'd to scan verse,  
Come out with some lampoon on D'Anvers.

Stephen Duck (1705-56) was an agricultural labourer turned poet and a *protégé* of Queen Caroline. See Swift's epigram *On Stephen Duck, the Thresher* (1730). "Caleb D'Anvers" was the pseudonym of Nicholas Amhurst, editor of *The Craftsman*, the paper founded by Bolingbroke and Pulteney in 1726 to oppose Walpole.

p. 181. *Sir Bob*. Walpole was knighted in 1725.

p. 181. *He pays his Workmen on the Nail*. The following passage (Orrery and Scott) originally followed:

Display the blessings of the Nation,  
And praise the whole Administration,  
Extoll the Bench of Bishops round,  
Who at them rail bid God Confound:  
To Bishop-Haters answer thus  
(The only Logick us'd by Us)  
What tho' they don't believe in Christ  
Deny them Protestants—thou ly'st.

p. 182. *Is fully at his Death*. 1733 ed. reads "Is Folly, . . ."

p. 182. *Ascending, make one Fun'ral Blaze*. Originally followed (Scott) by:

His panegyrics then are ceased,  
He grows a tyrant, dunce, or beast.

p. 182. *Charon's Boat*, etc. Charon ferried the souls of the dead across the river Styx to Hades, which was guarded by the triple-headed dog Cerberus.

p. 182. *Or in the Iv'ry Gate of Dreams*. A footnote in F. quotes *Æneid*, vi. 893-895:

Sunt geminæ Somni portæ . . .  
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto.

Two Gates the silent House of Sleep adorn;  
Of polish'd Iv'ry this, that of transparent Horn:  
True Visions thro' transparent Horn arise;  
Thro' polished Iv'ry pass deluding Lies.

Dryden



- p. 182. *Excise and South-Sea Schemes*. See notes to pp. 56, 72. The defeat of Walpole's attempt in 1733 to extend his favourite excise scheme to tobacco and wine marked the first serious ebb of his power.
- p. 183. *the Oracles of both*. Judges and bishops.
- p. 183. *At Will's, the puny Judge of Wit*. See note to p. 179 above. *Puny*, or *puisne*, a legal term for a junior or inferior judge; here a modern successor to the post of Dryden, etc.
- p. 183. *A Nod, a Shrug, a scornful Smile*. Cf. Pope's description of Addison, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, ll. 193-214.
- p. 183. *Get Scraps of Horace*, etc. Cf. *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift* (1731), ll. 473-474:

But laugh'd to hear an Idiot quote,  
A Verse from *Horace*, learn'd by Rote.

The writings of Aristotle and Horace were the main sources of neo-classic literary doctrine. From Aristotle's *Poetics* Renaissance commentators had deduced the dramatic unities of Time, Place, and Action, though in fact Aristotle had insisted only on unity of action.

- p. 183. *Judicious Rymer*. Thomas Rymer (1641-1713), playwright, critic, and historiographer. In his *Short View of Tragedy* (1692) he ridiculed *Othello*. In *A Tale of a Tub* he and Dennis are sarcastically linked as "most profound Criticks."
- p. 183. *Wise Dennis*. John Dennis (1657-1734), one of the most arrogant and surly, but authoritative, critics of the day. Pope maintained a long-standing quarrel with him, and for Swift's circle he incarnated all that was opprobrious in modern criticism.
- p. 183. *profound Bossu*. René le Bossu (1631-80), renowned as the author of *Traité du Poème Épique* (1675). He had influenced such important English critics as Dryden and Addison.
- p. 183. *Read all the Prefaces of Dryden*, etc. The bulk of Dryden's critical writing took this form, and it has hardly been surpassed. Swift could never be fair to him, possibly because Dryden had discouraged his earliest attempts at poetry. In *A Tale of a Tub*, where Dryden is constantly sneered at, Swift professes to have been told by him, "that the World would have never suspected him to be so great a Poet, if he had not assured them so frequently in his Prefaces, that it was impossible they could either doubt or forget it."
- p. 183. *Peri Hupsous*. "A famous Treatise of *Longinus*." Footnote

- in 1733 edition and F. The *ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ*, or *On the Sublime*, of unknown date and authorship, often wrongly attributed to Longinus of the third century A.D., was much admired in the eighteenth century. See Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 675–680.
- p. 184. *Translated from Boileau's Translation*. "By Mr. Welsted." Footnote in 1733 edition and F. Two English versions of Boileau's translation of Longinus (1674) appeared in 1711–12. One was by Leonard Welsted (1688–1747), another Whig author despised by the circle of Swift and Pope.
- p. 184. *Battus*. The name of the old shepherd in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ii. 688, who was turned into a touchstone by Mercury. The identity of the successor to Dryden's magistral chair at this date is not known. A clue is perhaps given by the fact that *Battus* means a stammerer or lisper, and is the name of such a man in the *History* of Herodotus, iv. 155.
- p. 184. *For Poets*. "Our Poets" 1733.
- p. 184. *Augusta Trinobantum*. "The antient Name of London." Footnote in F. The Trinobantes occupied the north bank of the Thames during the Roman occupation.
- p. 185. *Smithfield Drolls*. Farces and comic scenes performed in Smithfield at Bartholomew Fair each August.
- p. 185. *Bavius, Mævius*. Types of poetic dunces in Virgil and Horace. "Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi." ("Let him that hates not Bavius love your verses, Mævius.") Virgil, *Eclogues*, iii. 90. Cf. Horace, *Epode* x, and Pope's *Dunciad*, iii. 24.
- p. 185. *Tigellius*. A favourite of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, and the notorious detractor of Horace (*Satires*, I. ii. 3; I. iii. 4). In *A Tale of a Tub*, sect. iii, Swift includes him in the genealogy of the "True Critic" from Momus to Dennis.
- p. 185. *Harmonious Cibber*. His birthday odes to the King (like those of Eusden before him) were annual occasions of ridicule.
- p. 185. *Whence Gay was banish'd in Disgrace*. John Gay (1685–1732), an associate of Swift and Pope in the Scriblerus Club and author of *Trivia* (1716), *Fables* (1727), and *The Beggar's Opera* (1728). Because of the political implications of this last, his next piece, *Polly* (1728), was banned from the stage and the Duchess of Queensberry, his protectress, banished from court for endeavouring to publish it by subscription. See *Memoirs of Lord Hervey*, ed. R. Sedgwick (1931), i. 98–100.
- p. 185. *Young*. See note to p. 175 above.



- p. 185. *Hobbes clearly proves*, etc. In his *Human Nature*, xiv, xix, and *Leviathan*, xiii.
- p. 186. *Parnassus' Top*. The mountain sacred to Apollo and the Muses.
- p. 186. *So, Nat'ralists observe*, etc. Swift was well acquainted with the microscopical observations of the scientists and scorned them as trifling. Cf. Thomson, *Spring* (1728), ll. 155-156, "Even Animals subsist On Animals, in infinite Descent."
- p. 186. *Can personate an aukward Scorn*, etc. See "The Author's Preface" to *A Tale of a Tub*.
- p. 187. *Deny their Country like a Scot*. The Scottish lords were securely in Walpole's pay.
- p. 187. *Flecnœ*. Richard Flecknoe (d. 1678?), an insignificant Irish poet immortalized by Dryden in *MacFlecknoe* (1678) as progenitor of the whole race of dunces.
- p. 187. *Howard*. The Hon. Edward Howard (fl. 1669), brother of Sir Robert Howard, both of them minor dramatists of the late seventeenth century. The former's *British Princes* was a standing jest among the literary wits. See Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. L. F. Powell, ii. 108.
- p. 187. *the low Sublime*. Cf. note to p. 183 above. Pope had attacked Grub Street (possibly with the assistance of Swift) in his *ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ*, or *The Art of Sinking in Poetry* (1727).
- p. 187. *Blackmore*. Sir Richard Blackmore (1655?-1729), physician and author of long, dull epics, and of *The Creation, a philosophical poem demonstrating the existence and providence of God* (1712), in seven books.
- p. 187. *Great Poet of the Hollow-Tree*. "Lord Grimston, lately deceased." Footnote in F. The first Lord Grimston (1683-1756). In 1705 he had published a play (said to have been written when he was thirteen), *The Lawyer's Fortune: or, Love in a Hollow Tree*, by which he was ever afterwards embarrassed. Pope called him "a booby Lord." See Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. L. F. Powell, iv. 80 n<sup>1</sup>., 485-486.
- p. 187. *Duncenia*. The realm of Dunces.
- p. 188. *No Rhymer can like Welsted sink*. "Vide *The Treatise on the Profound*, and Mr. Pope's *Dunciad*." Footnote in 1733 and F. See notes to pp. 184, 187 above, and *Dunciad*, ii. 207; iii. 169.
- p. 188. *The Laureat*. "In the *London Edition*, instead of *Laureat*, was maliciously inserted Mr. *Fielding*, for whose ingenious Writings the supposed Author hath manifested a great Esteem." Footnote in F.

Henry Fielding had at this time written only plays and verse lampoons. *The Laureat* was Cibber.

p. 188. *Concannen*. Matthew Concannen (1701-49), another petty Whig poet. See *Dunciad*, ii. 299-304. He was sarcastically given the motto, "De profundis clamavi."

p. 188. *Smart Jemmy Moor*. James Moore Smythe (1702-34), author of the comedy *The Rival Modes* (1727), incorporating certain lines of Pope, who frequently gibed at him, his plumpness and his vanity. See *Dunciad*, ii. 35-50.

p. 188. *the Gulph they enter*. Like similar images in *Upon the South-Sea Project* (pp. 58, 61), this recalls the fate of Milton's rebel angels.

p. 188. *And ev'ry Vice that nurses both*. Originally followed (Orrery and Scott) by:

Perhaps you say Augustus shines  
Immortal made in Virgil's Lines,  
And Horace brought the tunefull Choir  
To sing his Virtues on the Lyre,  
Without reproach of flattery true  
Because their Praises were his due  
For in those Ages Kings we find,  
Were Animals of human kind,  
But now go search all Europe round  
Among the savage Monsters crown'd  
With Vice polluting every Throne  
I mean all Kings except our own,  
In vain you make the strictest View  
To find a King in all the Crew,  
With whom a Footman out of Place  
Wou'd not conceive a high disgrace  
A burning Shame, a crying Sin  
To take, his mornings Cup of Gin.  
Thus all are destin'd to obey  
Some Beast of Burthen or of Prey  
Tis sung Prometheus forming Man  
Thro' all the brutal Species ran,  
Each proper Quality to find  
Adapted to a human Mind,  
A mingled Mass of Good & Bad,  
The worst & best that could be had  
Then from a Clay of Mixture base  
He shap'd a King to rule the Race  
Endow'd with Gifts from every Brute  
That best the regal Nature suit,



Thus think on Kings, the Name denotes  
 Hogs, Asses, Wolves, Baboons & Goats  
 To represent in figure just  
 Sloth, Folly, Rapine, Mischeif, Lust  
 O! were they all Nebuchadnazzars  
 What Herds of Kings would turn to Grazers.

p. 188. *What Magnanimity of Spirit?* Followed in the original (Orrery) by:

How well his publick Thrift is shewn?  
 All coffers full except his own.

p. 189. *Hydaspes, Indus, and the Ganges*, etc. A footnote in F. quotes (inaccurately) *Æneid*, vi. 794–795, 798–799, with their references to Augustus's conquests. Walpole's foreign policy was based on a determination to avoid war. The whole passage seems to have given Pope the hint for his *Epistle to Augustus* (1737), imitated from Horace, *Epistles*, III. i.

p. 189. *Short by the Knees*. "Genibus minor." Footnote in F. From Horace, *Epistles*, I. xii. 28 ("On bended knees").

p. 189. *The Consort*. Queen Caroline was the only member of the Court with any genuine interest in literature.

p. 189. *Our eldest Hope, divine Iulus*. Frederick Louis (1707–51), Prince of Wales.

p. 189. *Bright Goddesses*. The five princesses.

p. 189. *Duke William*. William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. Later infamous for his cruelties after the battle of Culloden (1746).

p. 189. *the Minister of State . . . without a Mate*. Walpole was the first to assume the pre-eminence of a prime minister.

p. 189. *the publick Debts*. Walpole's expert financial policy had turned the National Debt into a gilt-edged security. Swift resented this as an advantage to the moneyed investors in the Funds.

p. 189. *Like prudent Fabius, by Delay*. 1733 and F. quote (inaccurately) *Æneid*, vi. 846, "unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem" ("You are the one who restores us to our former condition by delay"). Fabius Cunctator (the Delayer) as Roman dictator (217 B.C.) in the Carthaginian Wars seriously harassed Hannibal's forces, while always skilfully avoiding any open engagement. The allusion has its point for Walpole's foreign as well as financial policy.

p. 189. *The Church is thy peculiar Care*, etc. A cynical man himself,

- Walpole kept the Church strictly subservient to the Government. Though he would not risk repealing the Test Act, he remitted the penalties by an annual Indemnity Act. *Cf.* p. 180 and note.
- p. 190. *St. George beheld thee . . . an azure Knight*, etc. Walpole received the Order of the Garter in 1726. The ribbon of the Order is blue and St George is the patron saint.
- p. 190. *Lewis*. Louis XIV of France.
- p. 190. *Lucan*. Marcus Annæus Lucanus (A.D. 39–65), author of the *Pharsalia*, the greatest Latin epic after the *Æneid*.
- p. 191. *Give George and Jove an equal Share*. A footnote in 1733 and F. quotes, “*Divisum Imperium cum Jove Caesar habet*” (‘Cæsar has joint sway with Jove’). This seems to be taken from an epigram attributed to Virgil.
- p. 191. *Butter-weight*. Good measure, as butter was weighed at eighteen ounces and over to the pound.
- p. 191. *Jove never intermeddl’d here*. “Christ” is intended.
- p. 191. *Woolston*. Thomas Woolston (1670–1733), clergyman and free-thinker. After writing against the miracles of Christ he was, despite Walpole’s patronage, imprisoned for blasphemy. Swift refers to him on several occasions.

### A Letter to the Shop-Keepers, Etc.

This is the first of the *Drapier’s Letters*, written in February and printed early in March 1724. The text given here is that of Faulkner, iv. 59 (63)–79, which was reprinted from a Dublin edition of 1725 with some alterations (not greatly affecting the first *Letter*) to substitute Swift’s more definite later views.

See Introduction, pp. 40–42. Swift published the *Letter* under the pseudonym of *M. B. Drapier*—i.e., M. B., the draper. The character was appropriate to one who had already urged the people to buy only Irish cloth. *Cf.* the character of plain, honest Gulliver. The choice of the initials *M. B.* is unexplained.

p. 192. *the Printer*. The Dublin printer John Harding, who also published a newspaper, had been imprisoned (1721–24) for offending the Lord Lieutenant. He published all the Drapier’s letters of 1724 and was again imprisoned in November 1724 for the fourth of them, stoutly refusing to betray the Drapier. No case could be made against him. After his death in April 1725 his business was carried on by his wife, who often printed for Swift.

p. 192. *at the lowest Rate*. The pamphlet was sold at twopence, or



“at the Rate of three Dozen for two English Shillings,” to encourage gentlemen to buy them for distribution among poorer people. Swift wrote to Ford (April 2, 1724) that 2000 copies were distributed in this way. Swift himself paid the printer’s charges.

p. 193. *a little Book was written, etc. A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (May 1720).

p. 193. *the Poor Printer was prosecuted, etc.* The Chief Justice Whitshed tried to browbeat the jury into giving a verdict against the printer, Edward Waters. See Swift’s letter to Pope, January 10, 1721. After being sent back nine times they compromised with a special verdict. It was two years before the prosecution was dropped.

p. 193. *to be fined and imprisoned.* The original reading, “Loss of Money,” was later strengthened as a consequence of Harding’s fate.

p. 193. *last Coined in this Kingdom, etc.* Though a mint for Scotland was expressly provided for in the Act of Union, a like privilege had always been denied to Ireland. The King found it more profitable to supply Ireland through Patents to private individuals. Twenty years before, the country had been over-stocked with small coin by a patentee; consequent traffic in coin with the colonies and a refusal to grant a further Patent in the meantime had now produced a shortage. It was estimated that copper coinage to an amount between £10,000 and £20,000 was required. During the controversy Wood’s opponents came to deny that any addition at all was needed.

p. 193. *Raps.* The origin of the term is doubtful. It may come from the name of small Swiss-German or Dutch coins.

p. 193. *Mr Wood.* William Wood (1671–1730), of Wolverhampton, had interests in mining and iron manufacture. Far from being a plain, honest ironmonger, he was just the type of “projector” whom Swift detested. Despite contemporary aspersions, his Irish coins have been praised both for design and quality. In 1722 he had also secured a Patent for supplying coins to the American colonies. He was well rewarded when he surrendered his Irish Patent to a harassed Government in 1725.

p. 193. *procured a Patent.* See Introduction, p. 41. He was given the right to supply the coins for fourteen years.

p. 193. 108000 *l.* All editions prior to F. read “FOURSCORE AND TEN THOUSAND POUNDS” throughout. This is

what the amount was first thought to be. It was actually £100,800, as calculated from the terms of the Patent, viz. "100 tons of copper in the first year, and 20 tons yearly for the last 13 years, at the rate of 30*d.* to the pound weight of pure copper." The total amount of coin current in Ireland at the time is said to have been £500,000–£600,000.

- p. 193. *did not oblige any one here to take them.* The coins, according to the Patent, "shall pass and be generally used Between Man and Man or between any Persons that shall and Will Voluntarily & Willingly and not otherwise Pay and Receive the Same."
- p. 194. *a Penny of good Money for a Shilling of his.* A gross exaggeration. Wood was permitted to coin thirty pence from a pound of copper worth twelvepence. Out of the difference he had to pay the costs of his Patent, of making the coin, and of transporting and distributing it.
- p. 194. *had Great Friends,* etc. Swift was perhaps only making a likely guess. The tale got round later that Lord Sunderland gave the bestowal of the Patent to the Duchess of Kendal, the King's mistress, and that she got £10,000 from Wood for it. Walpole disclaimed having any hand in it, but once it was bestowed he had to take a firm line against the Irish opposition.
- p. 195. *our Honourable House of Commons,* etc. On September 23, 1723, the Irish Houses of Parliament expressed their concern in Addresses to the King, at the same time affirming their loyalty.
- p. 195. *Wood had the Assurance to answer likewise in Print.* In *The Flying Post*, October 8, 1723.
- p. 195. *Cork and other Sea Port Towns.* The merchants at the Irish ports refused the coins. So also, apparently, did the customs officers, on a legal point.
- p. 195. *Wood is still working under hand.* He had made representations to Walpole and the Duke of Grafton, the new Lord Lieutenant, and was urging his own brother-in-law, John Molineux, a Dublin ironmonger, to distribute the coin for him at a discount.
- p. 196. *Bere.* "A sort of Barley in Ireland." Footnote in F. Used for brewing.
- p. 196. *Butter Weight.* See note to p. 191.
- p. 196. *Squire Conolly.* William Conolly (d. 1729), Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and wholly in the English interest. Swift called him "wholly illiterate, and with hardly common sense." (Letter to Gay, August 28, 1731).
- p. 197. *to Truck.* To trade by direct exchange of goods.



- p. 197. *the Brass Money in King James's Time*. During the Rebellion of 1689 James II debased the Irish coinage to maintain his army.
- p. 197. *a Pistole*. A Spanish coin worth 16s. 6d. to 18s. Because of the scarcity of coin much foreign money was circulating in Ireland.
- p. 197. *run all into Sheep*, etc. A frequent theme of Swift's Irish tracts. Despite the English restrictions on the Irish woollen trade, landlords were steadily evicting their tenants to turn arable land into sheep pasture. For the insecurity and misery of the cottiers see Lecky's *History of Ireland* (1892), i. 214-215.
- p. 198. *above a Million of good Money every Year*. The total rental was about £1,800,000 a year, of which at least £600,000 was spent in England. If the value of Irish sinecures is added to this, Swift's figure will appear not much exaggerated.
- p. 198. *the French Government*. The value of French currency had been constantly altered in the preceding thirty years.
- p. 199. *the Mirrour of Justice*. Compiled by Andrew Horne in the reign of Edward I. It is no longer regarded as a sound authority.
- p. 199. *as my Lord Coke says*. References for the quotations from Coke that follow are given by Swift in footnotes. They all come from *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England* (1642), pp. 576-577, and are exact translations. Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634) was the rival in law of Francis Bacon. His opposition as Chief Justice of the King's Bench to the Prerogative Courts and the arbitrary proceedings of the King led to his dismissal by James I in 1616. His *Institutes* were the authoritative defence and interpretation of the common law of England, which he had upheld at all times.
- p. 200. *Henry the IVth. Chap. 4*. Correctly 4 Henry IV, c.10. Though he translates accurately, Swift was writing hurriedly and copied the reference wrongly from the *Institutes*.
- p. 200. *another Act in this King's Reign*. 9 Edward III, c.4.
- p. 200. *Black Money*. Made of base metal.
- p. 200. *the Eleventh Year of his Reign*. Correctly 11 Henry IV, c.5.
- p. 200. *Galley Half-pence*. Silver coins said to have been brought by the Genoese and others who came trading in galleys.
- p. 200. *Davis's Reports*. *Le Primer Report des Cases et Matters en Ley resolues et adjudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland*, published in Dublin, 1615, by Sir John Davis.
- p. 200. *Tyrone's Rebellion*. The revolt of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of

Tyrone, against Elizabeth in 1598. After Essex failed, Lord Mountjoy put down the rebellion in 1603.

p. 202. *will advance his Goods accordingly*. In price.

p. 202. *as the Scripture tells us*. Joshua, vi. 18.

p. 202. *I have heard Scholars talk*, etc. At this distance of time Swift is recalling the famous Phalaris controversy that gave rise to *The Battle of the Books* in 1697. See Introduction, pp. 18–20. Phalaris was a Sicilian tyrant of the sixth century B.C. The incident here described was depicted as frontispiece to Boyle's edition of the supposed Epistles of Phalaris (1695).

### Ireland

Written in September 1727 at Holyhead, where Swift was delayed for a week on his way back to Ireland after his final visit to England. In London his fame had been widely acknowledged. Walpole was securely back in power after a temporary set-back on the sudden death of George I, and Swift was returning despondently to Ireland, distressed by sickness and anxiety for Stella, then dangerously ill. During the delay at Holyhead he kept a diary and wrote this and three other poems in the same note-book.

The poem is here reprinted, by permission of the Keeper of the Library, from the MS. in the Forster Collection at South Kensington, in the belief that the reader will be interested to see a specimen of Swift's composition more or less as it left his pen, though no attempt is made to indicate the corrections in his MS.

p. 203. *His Excellency*. John Carteret (1690–1763), second Baron Carteret and later Earl Granville. He was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in October 1724, in the midst of the troubles over Wood's halfpence, and remained there until 1730. A man of culture, ability, and admired character, he was an old friend of Swift. Though a Whig, he was no supporter of Walpole, and acted with great moderation in Ireland.

p. 204. *Some augmentation*. Of the taxes payable to the Crown.

p. 204. *New Kings*. George II had succeeded in 1727, during Swift's stay in London.

p. 204. *Our Letters say*, etc. The Government continually tried to brand Swift as a Jacobite and he expected the old bogey of a return to Popery and the Stuarts to be revived at the opening of the new reign in order to strengthen the power of the Whigs. At this time his thoughts returned bitterly to the events of 1714.



p. 204. *another Pop-ry bill*. In 1704 the Irish Parliament passed a bill for suppressing Roman Catholics.

p. 204. *To use them as his truest friends*. The two following lines were deleted in the MS., viz.

Yes and the Church established too,  
Since tis grown Protestant like you

p. 204. *for encouragement of spinning*, etc. See Introduction, p. 39. He is now ironically suggesting that the Irish should also restrict their production of linen and corn for England's benefit. This in fact resulted from the practice of many landlords in turning their lands over to grazing, despite the serious restriction on exports. Cf. p. 210.

p. 204. *absentees*. Holders of sinecures and absentee landlords who rack-rented their Irish estates. See the *Modest Proposal* (p. 219) for Swift's reference to a suggestion for taxing them five shillings in the pound.

p. 205. *Feed nothing on your lands but sheep*. See note to p. 204 above.

p. 205. *To hang up all who smuggle wool*. The Irish were driven to smuggling as the only way of getting their wool abroad for sale.

p. 205. *That all our wives should go in Chints*. Contrary to the boycott Swift had urged in *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. See Introduction, p. 40.

p. 205. *the fools of Totness*. Probably proverbial. A note in Swift's MS. reads, "Ireland tax. the Crow and the Fox of Totness," apparently a reference to the fable of the fox who flattered the crow to get his piece of cheese.

p. 205. *a guinea in the pound*. As land tax, the amount being determined by the English Government.

p. 205. *from Excellence or grace*. The Lord Lieutenant and the Primate, Archbishop Boulter, leader of the English party in Ireland.

p. 205. *Townshend*. Charles Townshend (1674-1738), second Viscount Townshend. He was chief Whig Minister, 1714-17, and from 1721 shared power with Walpole, his brother-in-law, until Walpole's ascendancy forced him into retirement (1730), there to cultivate turnips.

### An Answer to Several Letters

First printed by Deane Swift in vol. viii of Swift's *Works* (1765). He vouched for its genuineness and dated it 1729. It is here reprinted from that source.

See Introduction, p. 43. Swift had always been interested in land-improvement. As early as 1700 he had set about planting and improving the scene at Laracor. When he stayed with friends in the country he enjoyed managing their lands, writing from Sheridan's house at Quilca, for example, "I am amusing my self in the Quality of Bayliff to Sheridan, among Bogs and Rocks, overseeing and ranting at Irish Laborers." (Letter to Ford, August 16, 1725). The King of Brobdingnag, one remembers, thought that any man who improved the crop of corn and grass did more good for his country than all the politicians. About the time he wrote this *Answer* Swift purchased land from his friend Sir Arthur Acheson with the idea, soon abandoned, of setting up as a country gentleman.

p. 205. *several schemes and proposals*. Following Swift's lead, Irish gentlemen were now active in proposing schemes for their own betterment.

p. 205. *in another place*. Presumably England.

p. 206. *My printers*, etc. See notes to pp. 192, 193. Swift seems to have helped with the cost of their defence and reimbursed them for their losses.

p. 206. *a judge*. Chief Justice Whitshed (1679-1727), appointed in 1714.

p. 206. *one of my Drapier's letters*. *An Humble Address to both Houses of Parliament*, usually known as the seventh *Letter*, although not printed until 1735.

p. 207. *twenty acts of parliament*. In the reign of George I private Acts of Parliament permitted various Turnpike Trusts to take over the maintenance of sections of roads and levy a toll for their use.

p. 207. *the undertakers*. Contractors.

p. 208. *skirts*. Borders.

p. 208. *quickins*. Mountain-ash or rowan trees.

p. 208. *sled-cars*. "Slide-cars," as they are often called, are still found in Ireland. They consist of a cart, or even a large basket, mounted on two poles or slides, one end of which rests on the ground, and are better adapted than wheeled vehicles to the boggy and mountainous nature of the country.

p. 208. *the acts for encouraging plantations*. The woods of Ireland had been mostly destroyed after the Rebellion in the mid-seventeenth century. The series of measures inaugurated by William III for replanting had had little effect because of "the cupidity or the



fears of the new proprietors." Lecky, *History of Ireland* (1892), i. 333-335.

- p. 209. *the tops of ditches*. In Ireland, walls or banks of turf.
- p. 209. *The common objections*, etc. Clearly Swift did not believe the native Irish to be irreclaimable. His remark about the understanding of a horse refutes the mistaken view, deduced from his account of the Houyhnhnms, that he considered horses superior to men. His insistence on rewards as more civilizing than punishments recalls the system of the Lilliputians in *Gulliver's Travels*, I. vi.
- p. 209. *to abolish the Irish language*. Swift regarded it as a cause of barbarity and ignorance and urged the improvement of charity schools to teach the children the English language and English ways. Cf. his sermon on *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland*.
- p. 210. *the national religion*, etc. Swift still feared that the Presbyterianism of the North would in time dominate the whole of Ireland.
- p. 210. *to find a servant*, etc. Cf. note to p. 213, *Directions to Servants*, and the sermon referred to above, note to p. 209.
- p. 210. *to seek their bread in foreign countries*. See notes to p. 211.
- p. 210. *to feed us with corn*. With the increase of pasturage in Ireland, corn had to be imported from England, a procedure agreeable to the English interest.
- p. 210. *to coin halfpence*. See *A Letter to the Shop-Keepers, Etc.*
- p. 211. *vassal to the Emperor*. After the Peace of Westphalia (1648) there was a loose federation of three hundred and fifty German states, each with a measure of independence, though recognizing the overlordship of the Austrian Emperor. As Elector of Hanover, George II was "a petty prince in Germany."

### A Modest Proposal

First printed anonymously in Dublin at the end of October 1729, and reprinted here from Faulkner, iv. 273-285. See Introduction, pp. 43-46.

p. 211. *this great Town*. Dublin.

p. 211. *to fight for the Pretender in Spain*. Many of the Irish Catholics enlisted in the armies of France and Spain. One attempt by Spain, urged on by Cardinal Alberoni, to restore the Stuarts had been frustrated by the British naval victory off Cape Passaro in 1718.

p. 211. *sell themselves to the Barbadoes*. Between 1725 and 1728, 4,200 men, women, and children, Protestants as well as Catholics,

- emigrated to the West Indies. Attracted by false promises, and even taken by force, many of them died on the voyage or soon after arrival, and the rest found themselves little better than slaves. Others emigrated to the American colonies.
- p. 212. *a Child just dropt from its Dam*. The language of cattle-breeders.
- p. 212. *The number of Souls in Ireland*, etc. In 1687 Sir William Petty had calculated the population of Ireland as 1,300,000. If Swift's figure is correct for 1729 there had been no decline.
- p. 212. *the present Distresses of the Kingdom*. The many economic evils had culminated in famine in each of the three years 1727-29. Many of the poor were dying of starvation.
- p. 213. *we can neither employ them*, etc. Because of the restrictions on trade and the policy of the landlords.
- p. 213. *a principal Gentleman in the County of Cavan*. One of the poorest counties in Ireland. Swift knew it from visits to his friend Dr Thomas Sheridan at Quilca. See note on p. 275 and cf. *The Blunders, Deficiencies, Distresses, and Misfortunes of Quilca* (1724), "Every servant an arrant thief as to victuals and drink, and every comer and goer as arrant a thief of everything he or she can lay their hands on."
- p. 213. *no saleable Commodity*. As a slave in the colonies.
- p. 213. *by a very knowing American*, etc. Cannibalism was reputed to exist in parts of America.
- p. 214. *will weigh Twelve Pounds*. So accurate in most calculations, Swift writes from inexperience here.
- p. 214. *a grave Author*. "Rabelais." Footnote in F. François Rabelais (1494?-1553), French physician and satirist, author of *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534-52). The reference is to Book V, chapter xxix of the combined work.
- p. 216. *the famous Salmanaazor*. George Psalmanazar (1679?-1763), an ingenious impostor. A Frenchman by birth, he represented himself as a Formosan and published in London in 1704 the entirely false *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*, from which Swift takes this incident. It was probably one of the many travel books he read when preparing *Gulliver's Travels*.
- p. 216. *his Imperial Majesty's prime Minister*, etc. A dig at Walpole and the court party.
- p. 216. *appear at a Play-house*. There had been a remarkable increase in the number of theatres in Dublin.
- p. 216. *Assemblies*. Public social gatherings.



- p. 216. *in foreign Fineries*. Contrary to the boycott Swift had called for.
- p. 217. *our most dangerous Enemies*. An ironical statement of one of the arguments of the English Government for strengthening the position of Presbyterians in Ireland.
- p. 217. *pay Tithes against their Conscience*. The need to reduce Presbyterian emigration was another argument used by the Government. Swift suggests that Dissenters were more concerned about money than religious conscience.
- p. 217. *an idolatrous Episcopal Curate*. The statement was made stronger by the insertion of "idolatrous" in 1735 as a gibe at the Presbyterians, who had in the meantime (1731-33) unsuccessfully renewed their agitation against the Sacramental Test and the tithe on flax. Swift had weighed in against them with several poems and tracts.
- p. 218. *yearly Child*. "Yearling Child," 1729.
- p. 219. *other Expedients*. The remedies Swift had been continually urging for Ireland's ills.
- p. 219. *the Expensiveness of Pride, Vanity, Idleness, and Gaming in our Women*. Cf. pp. 64-66, and notes.
- p. 219. *Topinamboo*. A region of Brazil notorious for barbarous stupidity. Cf. his poem, *Ireland*.
- p. 219. *like the Jews*, etc. When Jerusalem fell to Nebuchadnezzar. II Kings, xxiv-xxv; II Chronicles, xxxvi. English domination is represented as the Babylonian captivity of Ireland.
- p. 219. *to sell our Country and Consciences for nothing*. Cf. his poem, *Ireland*.
- p. 220. *will not bear Exportation*. And therefore cannot interfere with English trade.

### On the Irish Bishops

Reprinted from Faulkner, ii. 426-430. The verses appeared first in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1732. Faulkner's source was *Fog's Weekly Journal* of September 15, 1733. The piece was revised for Faulkner's edition, presumably by Swift. It has no title in Faulkner.

In February 1732 the bishops introduced into the Irish House of Lords a Bill of Residence and a Bill of Division. The former proposed to compel a clergyman accepting a benefice of £100 per annum or over to build a house of the value of one and a half years' income, if no suitable house already existed. The other sought to

subdivide the larger livings into several smaller ones. Neither Bill was to apply to the bishops themselves. Having easily passed the Lords, both Bills were thrown out by the Commons, after the lower clergy had made representations against them. Swift's indignant opposition was expressed in this and other poems, and in two tracts, *On the Bill for the Clergy's Residing on their Livings* and *Considerations on Two Bills*. See Introduction, pp. 43-44.

p. 221. *Old Latimer*. Hugh Latimer (1485?-1555), one of the most outspoken of the early Protestant divines and a notable preacher. He was made Bishop of Worcester in 1535 and was burned as a heretic at Oxford during the Marian persecution. In his "Sermon of the Plough" (1548) he described the devil as "the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England."

p. 221. *who believes and who trembles*. James, ii. 19, "The devils also believe, and tremble." The insinuation is that the bishops are not true believers.

p. 221. *the Baboon of Kilkenny*. Edward Tenison, Bishop of Ossory (1731) and a kinsman of that Archbishop of Canterbury who had stood in the way of Swift's preferment in the Church. See note to p. 152.

p. 221. *the Most Rev'rend old Dragon*. The devil in the guise of Tenison.

p. 221. *the Devil a Parson wou'd stir*. In both the Lords and Commons the clergy presented a petition against the Bills.

p. 222. *the Commons unhors'd them*. Both Bills were rejected by the Commons.

p. 222. *Three out of Twenty*, etc. Three of the twenty-two bishops voted against the Bill of Residence. They were Theophilus Bolton, Archbishop of Cashel; Charles Carr, Bishop of Killaloe; and Robert Howard, Bishop of Elphin.

p. 222. *making Divisions*. The Bill of Divisions had succeeded only in making a division between the bishops and the rest of the clergy.

p. 222. *like Judas the first*. Acts, i. 18, 20. Swift further reviled the bishops in a poem entitled *Judas* (1732), where he again refers to the fate of "Bishop Judas."

p. 222. *Machiavel*. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), Florentine statesman and political philosopher under the Medicis. His most influential treatise, *The Prince* (1513), advocated the subordination of means to ends in statecraft.

p. 223. *Spittles*. Hospitals.



- p. 223. *to live four Years without Vittles*. The clergy could not subsist on incomes reduced by the requirement of building a house in the fourth year of their incumbency as the Bill proposed.
- p. 223. *give us your Lands*. In his prose tracts Swift suggested that the wealth of the bishoprics made them fitter for subdivision than the livings of the clergy.
- p. 223. *Biting*. Cozening, 'taking in' the unwary.

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